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'SOBORNOST' OR PAPACY?

II. THE CATHOLIC IDEA OF THE PAPACY

IN a most suggestive simile, a Catholic theologian recently compared the inveterate tension between Rome and the Eastern Church to the attitude of a husband and wife, separated for many years (as well as after many years together) and who, for the good of the children whom they have divided between them, seek a reconciliation which neither will envisage save in the shape of an unconditional Canossa.¹

The strength of this image is that it underlines very appositely the whole complex of emotions which has piled up, since the beginning, on top of the objective factors whether of a doctrinal or a practical nature in which the break originated. The passage of time has served only to strengthen these prejudices and the initial misunderstanding has hardened into opposition by the intervention of the children who have taken up arms for their mother, giving her the benefit of a justification of their own grievances against the other spouse. The case of the Russian Church may be given as an example. Although the Western Church had taken as active a part in the original evangelization as the Greek Church of Constantinople,² the good relations with Rome did not last for long. The young Church turned more and more towards Byzantium, towards which it was predisposed both by greater proximity, various affinities, and above all the legitimate interests of the Russian people who feared the West and the Germanic hordes with whom the Pope of Rome

¹ See *Vers l'unité Chrétienne*, No. 38, Dec. 1951, p. 1-2.

² Cf. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle*, Paris, 1926; Michel de Taube, *Rome et la Russie avant l'invasion des Tartars*, Coll. Russie et Chrétienté, 2, 1947.

seemed to them to have been in alliance since the coronation of Charlemagne. Anti-papal prejudices, inherited from Constantinople, thus fell on fruitful ground; and, since that time they have not ceased to nourish the controversy with Rome. In our own day they are as strong as ever, as can be seen by reference to the recent polemics referred to above.

The worst accusation which can be brought by one Orthodox theologian against another—for them a decisive one—is that of papalism. The hieromonk Sophrony writes of the 'neo-papalism of Constantinople', referring to the encyclical of the Patriarch Athenagoras of 1950;³ Fr Schmemann charges his opponents with 'the papalism which results logically from an organic conception of the Church'.⁴ As much as to say, the very negation of Sobornost, of Orthodoxy: 'It is this', writes the Archpriest Kovalevsky, with the juridical structure and centralization which it brings with it into the Church, 'that is responsible for the disunity of Christians, for the schisms with the East, for the multiplicity of Protestant Churches, and for the revolt of the laicist and secular spirit against the Church of Christ'.⁵ And the Hieromonk Sophrony, in the article quoted above, seeks to show the origin and historical growth of this error in the Latin Church: built as the Church is in the image of the Holy Trinity with the perfect equality of bishops, papalism corresponds to the error of subordinationism, in particular that of Arius, 'for it gives to the Bishop of Rome a position which separates him from the rest of the Body of Christ, raising him to a height which makes him not simply the greatest, but of *another kind*. It is a survival of the pagan Roman Empire, along with a dogmatic conception influenced by the theology of the Filioque, leading to a certain form of christocentrism. Thus a cleavage is made between God and the world: Christ becomes transcendent to the world and the Bishop of Rome takes his place in the earthly Church: the Holy Spirit, in fact, loses His hypostatic equality with the Father and the Son, becoming simply a "power" of Christ, entrusted to the disposal and judgement of the Bishop of Rome'.⁶

Faced with such assurance and with a judgement so categorical—which passes in the eyes of many Orthodox for

³ Cf. *Messenger de l'Exarchat du Patriarche russe en Europe occidentale*, Nos 2-3, p. 24 (in Russian); No. 5, p. 51 (in French).

⁴ Cf. *Θεολογία*, April-June 1951, p. 246.

⁵ *Messenger*, Nos. 2-3, p. 69.

⁶ *Messenger*, No. 5, p. 40.

historical evidence—the task of the Catholic theologian is not easy. Has he a chance of making himself heard by a candid exposition of his faith, and can he ever hope to succeed in piercing this barrier of prejudice which seems to be founded upon such a solid basis both of dogma and of history? And if the enterprise seemed arduous to our forefathers, will not it now seem to be desperate since the Vatican Council, at least if one were to believe the reiterated affirmations of anti-Roman polemic. In erecting papal absolutism into a dogma of faith, the Church of Rome has broken definitely with Tradition and corrupted the revealed Deposit—this conviction is thinly disguised by Sophrony when he remarks, in connection with the relationship he sees between Roman papalism and the subordinationism of Arius: 'We must be more precise and say that we apply this parallel not to Roman papalism in its origin, but to its present form as established by the Vatican Council in 1870'.⁷

The plan of our enquiry is thus self-dictated. It will be necessary to show that the Vatican Council, whatever our dissident brethren may think, has changed nothing in the divine structure of the Church such as it appears to us in the Tradition of the first ten centuries; and if it can be shown that this recent dogmatic development is in harmony with Tradition, we can then conclude that the primacy and infallibility of the pope, despite the appearances, is compatible with true Sobornost, which is but an expression for what classical Orthodox theologians describe as the conciliar or collegiate aspect of the episcopate.

Is it true, first of all, that since the Vatican definition, the Universal Church has become an immense local Church, governed by a single bishop, as is asserted, for example, by Fr Schmemmann?⁸ Only a very superficial reading, unworthy of a theologian, of the Constitution 'Pastor aeternus', could give an appearance of truth to such a simplification. The reality is altogether different. But first a preliminary remark should be made which is always necessary before embarking upon texts which give difficulty to non-catholics. It is useless to seek in the Vatican Council for example, for a complete and organic presentation of ecclesiology; the councils, as a rule, make no such pretension. They assemble, normally, with the object of setting up a barrier against heresies or grave errors by proclaiming solemnly or by making more precise the threatened points of the Faith—they have never had the remotest intention

⁷ Ibid., p. 46.

⁸ *Θεολογία*, *ibid.*, p. 246.

of presenting anything like a complete Summa of the Catholic faith, even relatively to some particular dogma. How great, for example, would be the error of a theologian who, wishing to set forth the complete teaching of the Faith about Christology, took no more as a basis for his treatise than the dogma as defined at Ephesus or even at Chalcedon. However venerable the Holy Ecumenical councils may be for the Church, they are not the only organ of her authentic teaching, which is expressed normally in the ordinary and universal magisterium of the episcopate dispersed all over the world. Many Orthodox theologians will no doubt have no difficulty in agreeing with this doctrine of the Roman Church.

The Vatican Council is no exception to this rule, as is shown by the express intention of Pius IX in his opening Bull, 'Aeterni Patris'.⁹ In fact, the pope had had a preparatory schema on the Church prepared by a commission of established theologians and prelates, which was to be submitted to the Fathers for discussion.¹⁰ This contained, after a magisterial exposition of the nature of the Church, the mystical Body of Christ, its visible structure, its 'necessity', its properties and its powers, a single chapter (No. 11) on the primacy of the pope, without any mention of his infallibility; and it ended with three chapters about the relations between the Church and civil society. There is no need to go here into the events which led to the abandonment of this schema; agitation outside the council, inflamed by the indiscretions of the press, obliged the Fathers to treat first, outside of its context, of the grave question then being contested of the primacy of jurisdiction of the pope and of his infallibility. To the deep regret of a number of very eminent members of the council, who feared reactions which could hardly fail to provoke a premature definition of dogmas in isolation from their organic structure, the eleventh chapter of the schema was modified to include a chapter on infallibility, from which was drawn the Constitution 'Pastor Aeternus', which was to provoke such lively debate during its discussion in the conciliar assembly. The history of the latter is a stormy one.¹¹ One could wish that

⁹ Cf. the text in Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio Conciliorum*, Vol. L., col. 193x-198x; Résumé in Grandérath, *Histoire du Concile du Vatican*, Vol. I, Brussels, 1908, ch. viii, pp. 157-61.

¹⁰ Text in Mansi, op. cit., Vol. LI, col. 539-53; résumé in Grandérath, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 520-1; Vol. II, 1st Part, pp. 317-20.

¹¹ An objective résumé of the debates can be found in Grandérath, op. cit., Vol. III, 1st and 2nd Parts. Cf. the very interesting book of Mourret, *Le Concile du Vatican d'après des documents inédits*.

it were better known to dissident theologians, who might thereby form a sounder judgement as to the tradition of the Latin Church and the freedom of expression exercised by the bishops, the judges and doctors of the faith by virtue of being successors of the apostles.

The first discovery which can hardly fail to surprise the Orthodox reader will be the realization how much the ideal of 'Sobornost' is a living one in the Catholic and Roman Church. Even before the discussion of the new Schema, it had been proclaimed in unequivocal terms by more than one prelate of the Latin rite at the time of the debate on the two disciplinary constitutions 'De episcopis' and 'De sede episcopali vacante'. The authors of the schemas had insisted above all upon the duties of bishops. The majority of the speakers who took part in the debate emphasized that it was necessary also and above all to speak of their rights.¹² Mgr Schwarzenburg, archbishop of Prague, observed at the very beginning how urgent it was to treat of the authority of bishops and of that of the pope at the same time, for the former was in no less danger than the latter from the civil power. 'If we consider these two points together, we will show ourselves to be truly a single body, intimately united and as if bound to the supreme head of the Church, as brethren called to take part in the care of the whole body, not as slaves but as sons under the authority of the supreme pastor and father.'¹³ A large number of prelates from Italy, France, Germany, Austria and Hungary were of the same opinion.¹⁴ Mgr Strossmayer, bishop of Diakovar in Bosnia, whose episcopal see, by its position was as if a kind of bond of union between the East and the West, pronounced with great frankness a long discourse redolent of the purest spirit of Sobornost.

The same consciousness of the divinely given authority of their episcopal office and of the organic conception of the government of the Church is plainly to be seen in the written

¹² Cf. Mansi, Vol. L, col. 359-487; see also Granderath, op. cit., Vol. II, Part I, ch. xii, p. 209 sq.

¹³ 'Utrumque si factum fuerit, vere apparebimus ceu corpus unum, intime coniunctum et quasi conglutinatum cum summo capite Ecclesiae, vere tanquam fratres in partem sollicitudinis totius corporis vocati non tamquam servi, sed tamquam filii sub auctoritate supremi pastoris et patris.' (Mansi, Vol. L, col. 361.)

¹⁴ See in particular the discourse of Mgr Losanna, dean by age of the council, bishop of Biella (Mansi, Vol. L, col. 373-77), of Mgr Darboy, archbishop of Paris (ibid., col. 400-06), of Mgr Melchers, archbishop of Cologne (ibid., col. 409-11), of Mgr Dupauloup, bishop of Orleans (ibid., col. 433-7).

observations which were presented by the Fathers on the subject of the eleventh chapter of the original pre-synodal outline, which treated of the primacy of the pope.¹⁵ The great majority of them underline the grave incompleteness involved in treating of the primacy of the pope without first making mention of the episcopal hierarchy; and a substantial number of them wanted inserted a preliminary chapter on the rights of bishops. Lastly, a number of them complain of the spirit of juridical dryness reflected by the whole chapter.¹⁷

It is easy to see that these critics were determined to be even more pressing and even aggressive when the time came for the public discussion of the new constitution dealing solely with the papal prerogatives. Although all, or very nearly all, of the Fathers were agreed upon the basic question—the existence of a primacy by divine right and of an infallibility proper to the office of Supreme Pastor, many did not hide their opposition to the question being treated separately without reference to the organic whole of the Church's structure. It would be as reasonable to talk in architecture, about the keystone of a vaulted structure, while omitting mention of the arches which give it meaning. The Church is an organic body, of which each part can only be understood in relation to the whole.¹⁸

This apprehension was no less lively among the Oriental prelates and those Latin bishops who were in touch with the dissidents: would not a hasty definition, made without consideration of the feelings of the latter, only have the effect of deepening the gulf between the two Churches? On this question the most notable interventions at the time of the general debate over the Constitution, were the pathetic appeal of Mgr Gregory Jussef, the Greek Melchite patriarch of Antioch, and the eloquent and able discourse of Mgr Strossmayer.¹⁹

¹⁵ Cf. Mansi, Vol. L, col. 476-87.

¹⁶ See Mansi, Vol. LI, col. 929-68.

¹⁷ It is worth quoting, from among very numerous examples, this remark, emanating from some little-known bishops, which expresses well the nature of the criticisms: '*generaliter doctrina in capite contenta manca est et incompleta, nam agere de primatu Romani Pontificis sine expositione totius hierarchiae in Concilio Tridentino explanatae . . . non congruum videtur*' (Mansi, Vol. LI, col. 963).

¹⁸ See on this subject the discourse of Mgr David de Saint-Brieuc (Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 72), of Mgr Schwarzenberg (*ibid.*, col. 94-5), of Mgr Ketteler, bishop of Mayence (*ibid.*, col. 202-11), and of Mgr Strossmayer (*ibid.*, col. 391-404).

¹⁹ See Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 133-7 and 391-404.

Despite these grave warnings, the council judged it opportune to embark, before dealing with the other chapters, upon this dogmatic issue about which opinion was so strongly aroused and which, from the history of the Western Church in recent centuries, was clearly so urgent.

It would not be possible to begin to tell the story of the passionate debates which continued for nearly two and a half months and which ended in the voting of the constitution 'Pastor Aeternus'. In any case this would be of very little value, for the Orthodox theologian would rightly say that such a relation was basically of very little interest to him—a council must be judged by its results. If it is true that there was, at the Vatican Council, a not negligible 'inopportunist' minority over against an infallibilist majority, it is no less true that the case did in fact go against this minority. This being the case, whatever the sentiments of a not inconsiderable number of bishops with whom the Orthodox felt themselves in community of spirit may have been, was it not the 'papalist' idea which triumphed, to the great detriment of Tradition and with the implication of a virtual condemnation of Sobornost?

Such a judgement cannot be reconciled with either the facts or the texts. Apart from the fact that the bishops of the majority admitted (as they showed on more than one occasion) that the vindications of the rights of the episcopate put forward so eloquently in the speeches of the so-called 'opposition' were well founded, it can be demonstrated from the relevant texts that the interventions of the minority were not without result: the amendments which it proposed were frequently sanctioned by the Deputation of the Faith which was charged with the task of modifying the schema according to the mind of the Fathers, and they assisted in the elaboration of a definitive text which was more carefully worded than that originally proposed²⁰ in that it took account of the organic structure of the Church in formulating the pontifical prerogatives. It will be worth while to demonstrate this briefly in so far as it bears on the relationship between the papacy and the episcopate, or in other words between the Primacy and the Sobornost.

Is it, as Fr Schmemann suggests, true that since the Vatican definition the Church of Christ has had but a single teacher and a single pastor, the pope of Rome? In order to form this opinion it would be necessary to follow the example of

²⁰ See the original text in Mansi, Vol. LJI, col. 4-7 and compare it with the definitive text: Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 1330-34 or Denzinger-Umberg, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 1943, Nos 1821-40.

most readers who have not too much time to spare—skip the preface, in this case that of the conciliar document. In this it is recalled that Christ, the eternal Pastor of our souls, having decided to found the Church upon the model of the Trinity-in-Unity, chose to himself the apostles, to whom he confided the mission which he had received from the Father. And he willed that these apostles, pastors and teachers of his flock—the bishops—should be for ever. Thus the Church considered as a whole is governed by an episcopal body, the successor of the apostolic college. Any large number of people engaged upon a common task has need of some principle of cohesion to preserve its unity; and to this end Christ gave blessed Peter to the apostles as the perpetual guarantee of the unity of both pastors and faithful and as the visible foundation upon which was to be built the everlasting temple of the Church.

The text, in our opinion, is as clear as could possibly be desired. The mission to build up and to rule the Church was not given to Peter alone, but to a college of apostles who exercise together a pastoral and teaching office over the one flock of Christ. Peter, always, has received a special charge: that of assuring the unity of action of the apostolic body.

The first chapter of the document established the scriptural proofs of this divine disposition, which conferred upon the person of Peter alone the ultimate power of jurisdiction, and the second chapter dealt with the perpetuity of this power in the person of the Bishop of Rome, adducing several texts from the Tradition of the first five centuries. Finally, the third chapter is concerned with the definition of the actual nature of this power and the extent of the primacy of jurisdiction. After recalling the definition of the Council of Florence on the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, it proceeds to make its meaning more precise; there is, it says, a real pastoral power over the whole Church, over all the local Churches and their members, both pastors and faithful, which is a power of the same kind as that of a bishop of a place over his flock, and concerning faith and morals as well as discipline and church government. This text, which was the fruit of long discussions and of important alterations, seems at first sight to set up in the Church of Christ an absolutism of the pontifical office which leaves no place for the organic and collegiate conception which we have seen put forward in the preface. Are not the bishops of the local Churches in effect supplanted by this single bishop of the universal Church, who possesses the same prerogatives in their own dioceses as they do themselves? Are they not

thus reduced to the position of mere lieutenants of the Sovereign Pontiff, subject even in the territory which is entrusted to them to the superior and fully effective power of the supreme pastor?

The next paragraph renders impossible any such interpretation, which would indeed be to falsify the meaning of the decree; it affirms without ambiguity that the primacy of the pope is in no way prejudicial to the jurisdiction of the bishops, who are successors of the apostles in accordance with the will of Christ, and true pastors of their respective flocks. Very much on the contrary in fact: it confirms, fortifies and protects the bishops' jurisdiction. This clear and categorical affirmation illuminates and clarifies the meaning of the preceding definition. It shows incontrovertibly that the Fathers of the council had no intention of forgetting the organic conception of the hierarchy which they had so opportunely recalled at the beginning; one may even say that they underline and sanction it. A more attentive reading of the text will convince us.

From the beginning of the decree, mention is continually made of the local Churches; and it is clear that in developing the definition of Florence which makes mention of the universal Church, the Vatican Council in its turn does not lose sight of the fact that this supreme unity is organic, is the expression of the unity of a multiplicity of local Churches, who are bound to the see of Rome by the bonds of faith and of communion. The Roman Pontiff is bishop of a local diocese like his brothers in the episcopate, but in addition the Christ has entrusted to him a special office: to guard, in his capacity as successor of Peter on the see of Rome, the unity of the Sobornost itself. It is to him that is entrusted the mission of defending the cohesion of the flock of Christ dispersed throughout the world in local communities, of assuring the unity of action of the episcopate and the purity of orthodoxy, and of promoting the common well-being of the whole Church. His powers are consequently exactly commensurate with the mission which is laid upon him. For it is self-evident that this responsibility of supreme guardian of the unity, this superintendence entrusted to no other apostle, must not encounter obstacles in its functioning—which explains the minute attention to detail with which the decree has forged the exact interpretation of this 'plenitude of power' inherent in the sovereign pastoral office.

This very insistence in affirming the universality in extent and depth of the pontifical jurisdiction, is the best guarantee

of the world-wide significance, that is to say of the Catholicity, of the power which he is recognized as possessing: he is not the 'greatest among his brethren',²¹ he is the 'representative' or symbol of the Sobornost, the living incarnation of the solidarity of the bishops. And it is this identification with the hierarchy of which the council is thinking when it refers to the great text of St Gregory the Great in recalling the intimate union which exists between the papacy and the episcopate.²²

The plenitude of power, recognized in the pope by the third chapter of the Constitution 'Pastor Aeternus', does not then introduce either absolutism or arbitrariness, a fact which was opportunely recalled by Mgr Zinelli, in the name of the Deputation of Faith.²³ Indeed, several Fathers of the minority, of whom Mgr Landriot constituted himself the spokesman,²⁴ objected to the term 'plena potestas' which seemed to them to sound the death-knell of the powers of the bishops: but they had wrongly taken this expression to mean 'unlimited power'. Mgr Salas, replying to Mgr Landriot, reassured them: the power of the pope, however plenary it may be, is not unlimited;²⁵ it is exercised within the limits of the Church's constitution, in conformity with the will of its Founder, who associated indispensably with the pope a college of bishops, natural and legitimate co-participants in his authority.

Thus the Holy Father cannot change the nature of the episcopate,²⁶ instituted as it has been by Christ himself, nor can he convert the bishops into mere apostolic delegates, habitually dispensing with their agreement in the government of their dioceses as if he were the only pastor of the flock and the bishops mere commissioners. This is surely, in other words, to say that in the exercise of his power he must without ceasing have regard for the true structure of the Church,

²¹ Cf. the canon: 'aut eum habere potiores partes' (Mansi, Vol. LII col. 1333; Denzinger No. 1831).

²² 'Meus honor est honor universalis Ecclesiae. Meus honor est patrum meorum solidus vigor. Tum ego vere honoratus sum, cum singulis quibusque honor debitus non negatur' (*ad Eulogium episc. Alexandr.*, I, 8, c. 30; P.L. LXXVII, 933 C.).

²³ Cf. Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 1144 D.

²⁴ Cf. Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 567.

²⁵ 'Potestas Summi Pontificis limitatur iure naturali et divino, limitatur J. C. Domini nostri praeceptis et doctrinis, limitatur communi Ecclesiae bono, limitatur conscientia, limitatur recta ratione et sensu communi, limitatur regula fidei et morum... En quot limitationes!' (Mansi, Vol. LII, pp. 579-80).

²⁶ Cf. Mgr Zinelli: 'Nemo sanus dicere potest aut papam aut concilium oecumenicum posse destruere episcopatum coeteraque iure divina in Ecclesia determinata' (Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 1114).

governed as it is by a college of bishops ; and always act with the *common* good in view, conscious of being himself the organ and support of the hierarchy.

Such a relationship of the supreme hierarch and his associates goes far beyond the boundaries of the purely juridical order ; it may be compared, without risking too many errors, to the collaboration of parents in the upbringing of their children : head of the family, the father naturally and necessarily associates with himself his wife, without whose aid the well-being of the children would be in grave danger. But he is always free to act without having to obtain his wife's consent, and even on occasion against her will, if a higher interest should require it, or if the weakness of the mother for a particular child should endanger the general well-being of the family community. Similarly the pope, when he intervenes in the affairs of a diocese, does so with his eye fixed on the general good of the Church. It is this consideration that both limits and justifies, at times when the local bishop recognizes in his action the solicitude of the supreme pastor who has received from Christ the command to strengthen his brethren.

The position appears even clearer in the case of the personal infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff. No dogmatic truth was the cause of more agitation within the council and throughout the whole of Catholicism than this prerogative, which appeared to deny the very principle of conciliarity and to render œcumenical councils superfluous. The criticism of the opposition was centred upon the three words which seemed to characterize the pope's infallibility : personal, separate, and absolute. These words were so constantly in the ears of the Fathers that Mgr d'Aranzo jestingly remarked that the Vatican Council would go down to history as the council of the three words.²⁷ But if there is one conclusion from which it is impossible to escape from reading the text of the fourth chapter and the canon with which it ends, together with the excellent commentary given upon it by Mgr Gasser on 11th July 1870 in the name of the Deputation of Faith,²⁸ it is that any fear of a discretionary power which a definition might give to the pope in his teaching office was utterly vain. Personal in so far as it is a prerogative attached to the person of the pope and not merely to the see of Rome, infallibility might further

²⁷ Cf. Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 761.

²⁸ Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 1212-7 ; Granderath, op. cit., Vol. III, 2nd Part, ch. xii, pp. 105-12.

have been designated functional;²⁰ for it is inherent in his function as Supreme Pastor, as head of the Church in relation with the Universal Church.²⁰ In any case, it is neither separate nor absolute.

It is uniquely distinct rather than separate from the collegiate infallibility, Mgr Gasser explained, because it supposes the particular exercises of the pope's role as universal doctor, representative of the œcumenical Church: he is the foundation of the Church, according to the promise of our Lord to St Peter, and he may not be separated from the edifice which he sustains at the moment when he is exercising a charism conferred upon him for its welfare.²¹

And there is a further and even weightier reason for not separating the pope defining *ex cathedra* a Catholic truth from the Church. This charism of the faith granted to the Holy Father for the preservation of the divine truth does not consist in a sort of inspiration or new revelation, but is in the form of the assistance of the Holy Spirit preventing the pope from erring in the authentic discernment of the deposit of faith, preserved in Tradition. Thus it presupposes a diligent enquiry into this latter as a preliminary condition. And how can this enquiry be effective if it is not a consultation of the tradition of the Churches; normally through the bishops as intermediaries, or, in the case of urgency, of the immemorial tradition of the Church of Rome, the confluence, according

²⁰ This is why ch. iv bears the title 'Of the infallible *magisterium* of the Roman Pontiff' and not 'Of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff', one Father having remarked that the word infallibility is ambiguous in certain languages, for example in German (and above all in Russian) in which it also means impeccability (Cf. Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 1218, emend. 5). Unfortunately, this regrettable confusion has gained an entrance into Orthodox anti-Roman polemic. By itself, this privilege of infallibility makes the pope so little impeccable, that he may even sin by making use of it without fulfilling with all the care that is desirable the divinely established conditions for its exercise. Even in such a case, the definition would be preserved from all error, because the wisdom of God does not make the valid exercise of a charismatic power dependent upon the moral dispositions of him who is endowed with it.

²¹ 'Competit (infallibilitas) Romano Pontifici . . . quatenus est persona publica i.e. caput Ecclesiae in sua relatione ad Ecclesiam universalem' (Mgr Gasser, Mansi, Vol. LIII, col. 1213).

²² 'Non separamus Pontificem ab ordinatissima coniunctione cum Ecclesia. Papa enim solum est infallibilis quando omnium christianorum doctoris munere fungens, ergo *universam Ecclesiam repraesentans*, iudicat et definit quid ab omnibus credendum vel reiiciendum. Ab Ecclesia universali tam separari non potest quam fundamentum ab aedificio cui portando destinatum est.' (Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 1213.)

to Irenaeus, of all the local traditions of the *Catholica*.²² If the tradition is unanimous, the pope is then doing nothing more than sanctioning the common faith upon a given point, he is in fact simply the mouthpiece of the existing magisterium of the whole body of bishops.

But, it may be objected, what is to happen if there arise really serious dissensions about some dogmatic point, if the episcopate itself is divided or falls into heresy or is unable to remedy errors by means of local measures or regional councils?²³ Is the calling of an œcumenical council the only means available for dealing with such evils? The history of the Church teaches us that this expedient is not always the most effective, and may even be impossible in troubled periods. Must we then say that our Lord has left His Church devoid of an effective means of rooting out an evil as it develops, of preserving the health of the mystical Body in its wholeness by a clear-affirmation of the saving truth? No; Christ has provided such a supreme guarantee in the promise made to Peter; and the pope, in proceeding to a definition, knows that the assent of the wiser part of the episcopate and of the Church will not be wanting, for his voice then is the voice of Peter, the apostolic foundation, bearing witness to the truth received from the very lips of Christ, and preserved indefectibly by the whole faithful Church.

The pope, in his supreme office of doctor, is thus by no means separated from the *Catholica*: he is continually united to the Church by the bond of tradition, which is normally witnessed to by the accord of the day-to-day preaching of the bishops. In default of this, he consults the great uninterrupted stream of the Churches' tradition, in discerning which he is enabled with a peculiar assistance preserving him together

²² To quote the excellent commentary of Mgr Gasser: 'hanc cooperationem Ecclesiae tum ideo non excludimus, quia infallibilitas Romani Pontificis non per modum inspirationis vel revelationis, sed per modum divinae assistentiae ipsi obvenit. Hinc Papa pro officio suo et rei gravitate tenetur media apta adhibere ad veritatem rite indagandam et apte enuntiandam; et eiusmodi media sunt concilia vel etiam consilia episcoporum, cardinalium, theologorum.' (Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 1213). 'Numquam praetermittendum est quod papae praesto sit illa traditio Ecclesiae Romanae... ad quam propter potentiorum illius principalitatem omnem oportet convenire Ecclesiam.' (Ibid., col. 1217.)

²³ 'Talis definitionis (ex cathedra) tunc est vel maxime locus, cum alicubi in Ecclesia scandala circa fidem, dissensiones et haereses exoriantur, quibus reprimendis antistites ecclesiarum singillatim, vel etiam in concilio provinciali congregati impares sunt; ita ut ad sanctam Sedem apostolicam hac de causa referre cogantur; vel si ipsi antistites tristi erroris labe infecti fuerint.' (Mgr Gasser, Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 12-13.)

with the Church and the whole magisterium, from falling into error.³⁴

The notion of the objective rule of faith, as it is understood by Orthodox theologians such as, especially, Fr Florovsky, is thus central to the Catholic tradition. Its privileged organs are Scripture, and the Fathers; but the supreme criterion by which it is infallibly determined, in case of conflict, is not in the last resort the faithful people (as if it belonged to the flock to teach the pastors) but the divine power of the Magisterium, which flows in, in the ultimate necessity, as blood flows in to the heart under the influence of intense cold, in order to gush forth again into all the limbs and preserve them from death.

Nothing obliges the pope at these moments of crisis to wait patiently for a unanimous agreement which is *ex hypothesi* impossible; hence the phrase in the conciliar decree which so much offends our Orthodox brethren: 'such definitions of the Sovereign Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not by the consensus of the Church'.³⁵ That agreement will come is certain—the promise to the Church of indefectibility is the guarantee of that; and it exists already where the Church of the past is concerned. But it is not necessary that the definition of the pontiff should have, to be valid, the spontaneous agreement of all the bishops, still less that of the faithful. The concept of Catholicity, like that of Sobornost, embraces universality not only in space but also in time; it is not the result of the law of the majority, but is qualitative; even if large sections of the community of the Church fall away for a time, the one Catholic Church remains, faithful to the message of Christ, and confident in the power of the truth.

(To be Continued)

G. DEJAIFVE, S.J.

³⁴ 'Verum est quod consensio praedicationis praesentis totius Magisterii Ecclesiae unitae cum capite sit regula fidei etiam pro definitionibus Pontificis . . . omnes sciunt regulam . . . illam de consensione ecclesiarum in praedicatione praesenti valere solummodo in sensu positivo, nullatenus vero in sensu negativo . . . Ast, quid fiet si dissensio inter ecclesias particulares exoritur, si controversiae de fide insequuntur? Tunc iuxta Lirinensem recurrendum est ad consensionem antiquitatis, i.e. ad Scripturam et Sanctos Patres: et ex consensione antiquitatis dissensio praedicationis praesentis est resolvenda.' (Mansi, Vol. LII, col. 1216-17.)

³⁵ Denziger-Umberg, No. 1839.

CONCELEBRATION OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST IN EAST AND WEST

THE question of concelebration used to be given a positive answer by most historians and liturgists when they affirmed that the practice of several priests celebrating together the same Sacrifice and consecrating together the Body and Blood of the Lord was a common one both in East and West during at least the first thirteen centuries.

During the last few years the question has arisen again on account of the so-called 'liturgical movement', and on account of the desire for Christian Unity which, with the blessing of the popes, has occupied so many minds, and the answer given by most liturgists has been the same, though some have denied or cast doubt upon it or have wished to make modifications.

We have therefore to ask whether this concelebration of former days was indeed true Eucharistic concelebration, and if so, whether it was universal, or whether, on the other hand, it was restricted to a particular period and place.

I am not considering *how* the rite itself was performed, or what changes were introduced into the rite, but simply *whether* it was performed or not, and *when*, and *where*.

In practice this question has been positively answered by many modern Catholics of the Eastern rite, without being altogether ignored in the Latin rite, but as to how matters stood in early days the experts are more cautious in expressing themselves, and as to details connected with the rite of concelebration there remain doubts and uncertainty even because of scanty documentation.

For this reason I do not dare to propound the question as beyond all doubt, but, laying aside all prejudice, I have tried to discuss the matter and reach a conclusion. Certainly there are difficulties to be faced if we affirm categorically that concelebration was the universal practice in East and West for at least thirteen centuries, but there are *probabilities* in favour of this theory. My exposition of the material at my disposal will include the details which affect this conclusion.

FOREWORD

(1) In treating of Eucharistic concelebration in its historical aspect I presuppose the reader to have a notion of concelebration in general, and also to know something of the

modern discipline in the matter, both in the Latin rite and among Easterns whether Catholic or not.

(2) I divide concelebration thus: (a) in its widest sense; (b) in a stricter sense; (c) in its strictest sense.

(a) Concelebration is the 'consociation' in any liturgical act of all, ministers and the faithful present.

(b) Concelebration of several clerics, i.e. of different orders, taking part each in his proper function.

(c) Concelebration of many priests, with the bishop presiding, at one and the same Liturgy.

The last is called *full* concelebration or *sacramental* by some, for here the words of consecration are pronounced by all at the same moment; and so we can divide again into a *less full* concelebration, a *ceremonial* one, in which only the principal celebrant pronounces the words.

(3) Unless otherwise stated, I am understanding concelebration in the strictest sense, the *sacramental* sense.

EUCCHARISTIC CONCELEBRATION IN THE EAST

Concelebration in early days and among Catholics.

It is quite certain that in the early centuries the Christian life turned about the Bishop and Shepherd, and that all the Mysteries and especially the Holy Sacrifice, were presided over by him, with priests and deacons actively participating with him.

Thus St Ignatius of Antioch in his epistle to the Smyrnians¹ says that all should be obedient to the bishop and do nothing without him:

'Let all obey the bishop, as Jesus Christ obeyed his Father . . . Apart from the bishop let no one do anything . . . That Eucharist is to be accounted valid² which is celebrated under the presidency of the bishop.'

No less certain, as is witnessed by many, is the fact that the custom prevailed in churches, especially the Eastern ones, then, as now it does to some extent, that there should be but one altar, one Mass each day, and one Mass only upon the same altar, a custom which has the sanction of Pope Benedict XIV:³

. . . *veterem sanctorum ecclesiae graecae patrum.*

Wherefore do liturgists of our day conclude that priests in the early Church had to consecrate at the same time as the

¹ Cf. ed. Funk, Op. PP. App., Tubingae, 1887, t.I., ch. viii, pp. 240-1.

² The word is not meant in the modern sense but in the sense of liceity. Cf. Beauduin.

³ Decret. pro Patriarch. Antioch, Breve Demandatum, 8; Cf. Mansi, t. 46, col. 334 B.

bishop, for otherwise—unless the bishop was away or had given special permission—they never celebrated Mass. But this conclusion is unacceptable and improbable, for the priestly power of celebrating the Eucharist is recognized from the earliest times.

For the same reason P. J. Hanssens denies that there was concelebration in the early centuries. For the moment I myself draw no conclusion from the fact that in early days priests always stood around their bishop at the time of the Holy Sacrifice. That will be done later. We must now examine the evidence concerning concelebration, to see just what it is.

CONCELEBRATION IN THE EARLY WRITINGS

The question of eucharistic concelebration could be easily settled if there existed early liturgies in which the rubrics legislated for it. But the situation is otherwise, for many Eastern codices giving the primitive liturgies lack rubrics, and from this absence nothing can be deduced either for or against. This, for example, is affirmed by Renaudot:⁴ 'The rubrics are lacking . . . but we must not on that account assert that the Greeks did not carry out the rites . . . and the same applies to the Syrians'. . . Therefore we cannot deny that there was concelebration, especially as those liturgists who, for other reasons, affirm that the practice always existed in the Church declare that no certainty can be deduced from the liturgies themselves. They do not, moreover, affirm that the use of concelebration was general in the East, especially in the first centuries.

Thus Puniet⁵ says that: 'The canonical compilations certainly say that the priests are to extend their hands over the oblations during the eucharistic prayer, at the same time as the bishop, but it seems that the bishop says the prayer alone'.

The same author considers that the Apostolic Constitutions are not more explicit in the matter, and although before beginning the Anaphora the bishop prays with the priests, it is not clear whether they con-consecrate.

The evidence is no more apparent and simultaneous consecration is no more clearly expressed either in the other liturgical books, which were generally for the use of a solitary celebrant, or even in those books where the liturgies were set out and commented, many of which deal with Pontifical Mass.

⁴ Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient. Collectio*, Paris, 1716, t. 3, p. 51.

⁵ DACL, t. 3, col. 2498.

Having said so much, briefly, by way of preamble, we must now approach those documents in which some form of concelebration is treated.

Space does not allow us to employ all or many such documents, and many of them are indeed dubious as to proving that they really do refer to eucharistic concelebration, and others prove nothing at all, as P. J. Hanssens has shown. Instead I shall set forth a few texts only which seem to help us to prove the existence of eucharistic concelebration.

In the letter which the Fathers at the Council of Ephesus sent to Pope Celestine, they write that they themselves are all remaining in communion with their brethren and co-ministers Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus, although deposed by John of Antioch and the rest of the Eastern bishops, and are together performing the liturgy :⁶

'And so we are in communion with our brethren and co-ministers (συνλειτουργοῖς) Bishops Cyril and Memnon, who have been so badly treated (by Nestorius and others), and all of us have shared in the liturgy with them, and we still do so, everyone celebrating in common.' τὰς συναξαεῖς ἐπιτελοῦντες.)

The old Latin version gives the Ephesine text somewhat differently :⁷

'With our brethren and co-ministers therefore . . . we are all worshippers in common, and we have ministered with them even after the temerity of those others . . . and we minister all together celebrating every liturgy together.'

In the 11th session of the Council of Chalcedon a certain bishop named Bassian disputing the see of Ephesus with a bishop Stephen speaks thus :⁸

'I came to the kingdom of Constantinople, and the same ruler made friends of us (myself and Bishop Proclus), and I communicated with him and all the bishops . . . remaining there four years . . . the day after we all celebrated the liturgy together λειτουργήσαντες πάντες ὁμοῦ), and after it was over (ἀπὸ τῆς λειτουργίας), they laid hands on me, locked me up and forcibly took away my priestly vestment . . . Stephen they made a bishop . . . but Stephen was my priest, he said Mass with me for four years, he communicated with me, and he did so to me as to a bishop, and the very day they imprisoned me we celebrated together.'

⁶ Cf. Mansi, t. 4, col. 1336, PE. actio 5.

⁷ Cf. Mansi, t. 5, col. 646 DE.

⁸ Cf. Mansi, t. 7, col. 280 A., 285 D.

Evagrius 'Scholasticus', recounting an episode from the life of St Simeon Stylites (fifth century) speaks thus :⁹

'Both of them (the Bishop of Antioch and St Simeon) met together and sacrificed the Spotless Body and administered the life-giving Communion to each other'.

Pope Gregory the Great in his letter to Eulogius of Alexandria and Anastasius of Antioch, thus :¹⁰

'Because they asked it humbly, I had these delegates celebrate Mass with me because . . . the delegates of my brother and co-priest Cyriacus had to communicate with me . . . but my deacon must not celebrate with the aforementioned Cyriacus.'

In each version of the letter of John VIII, the one read by Photius at the Synod of Constantinople in 879, as well as the authentic one, the word *consecrare* which the pope used when writing to Photius¹¹ is rendered as συλλειτουργεῖν, and the letter runs thus :

'But when you say that the holy Church of Constantinople gathers around you . . . but that our legates do not join with you to celebrate (*consecrate*), we give thanks to God for the unity of all ; yet we gave no command to our legates to act thus.'

In the light of these and other texts, and keeping in mind the fact of close unity of everyone, laity and clergy, under the leadership of their bishop, and with the certain knowledge that in early churches there was but one altar and one sacrifice, and with additional considerations and arguments, liturgists and historians conclude that eucharistic concelebration in general was widespread in the East and was a practice honoured by all ; they themselves with all their might exalt and approve and praise the practice. I could myself say a great deal in favour of concelebration at this point, did not the scope of this study preclude it.

Local synods nearer to our own time have in many cases made affirmative provisions for concelebration, just as others have recorded 'this most ancient tradition'.

Pontifical decrees have also approved of eucharistic concelebration and ordered the custom to be maintained.

All these facts are so well known to liturgists that P. R. Aigrain in his popular encyclopaedia of liturgy writes to the effect that nowadays 'It is still a common current

⁹ Evagrii. Hist. Eccl. I, I, c. 13 ; cf. PG. t. 36, col. 2453.

¹⁰ Epp. I. I. ep. 34. Cf. PL., 77, 929 D.

¹¹ Ep. 248 ad Phot. Cf. PL., t. 126, col. 871 A.

practice', and he mentions the statutes of the Catholic synods of the Maronites, Copts, Syrians, etc.

Concerning concelebration among Catholic orientals at the time of priestly ordination and episcopal consecration, this seems for the most part to be excluded, apart from the Greek rite, for the ordination takes place after the consecration of the bread and wine, and with the Nestorians there is no fixed time prescribed and ordination can take place outside Mass.

(To be Continued.)

GEORGE BRIANCHIANINOFF.

NOTES

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ABBREVIATIONS

- EH—Kirch.
Eph. Lit.—*Ephemerides Liturgicae*.
 Ep.—Epistola.
 Ed.—Edition.
 DACL—*Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie*.
 PG, PL—Migne.

[We only give the important references and have curtailed the notes.—THE EDITOR.]

REFLECTIONS ON THE UNITY PILGRIMAGE TO ROME, JUNE 1953

[In *The Tablet* (25th July 1953) Dom Columba gave an account of the Unity Pilgrimage to Rome. This is a factual account and from it we will give some details. 'The pilgrims were a good cross section of the more sacramental elements in non-Catholic Christendom. The Anglicans were the largest body, about nineteen—not papalist, but well above centre for the most part. Then there were a dozen Orthodox, some Russian Orthodox from Paris, a few from Greece itself, and two from Yugoslavia. One Lutheran lady joined us. The Catholics were there to help in every way they could—one Oxford graduate, doing research still, two priests.'

What follows is Dom Columba's comment on the nature of the pilgrimage and some of its problems.—THE EDITOR.]

THE following remarks will be more in the nature of a record and a commentary than a picturesque account of what we did. I shall therefore begin with the bare outline of the scheme.

Several plans were drawn up before we reached Rome, but it might be well to record what we actually did, as a record for future pilgrimages.

Most of the pilgrims arrived on Saturday, 20th June. It was intended to go to the Mamertine prison and the place of St Paul's martyrdom at the Salvian Waters. But the first united effort was :

Sunday, 21st.—

Morning : Mass in the Catacomb of Domitilla. Then after lunch to San Clemente.

Evening Saturday, Prof. Zander spoke on Pilgrimages.

Monday, 22nd.—

Morning : Mass at St John Lateran ; visit to Scala santa, S. Croce.

Afternoon : St Laurence's outside the walls, and a visit to the catacomb of St Cyriacus. Then St Mary Major.

Evening : Dom Columba spoke on the Benedictine spirit.

Tuesday, 23rd.—

Morning : by bus to Subiaco, Mass in the santo Speco.

Afternoon : visit to San Gregorio on the Coelian Hill.

Evening : Rev. Richard Rutt spoke on Cistercian spirit.

Wednesday, 24th.—

Morning : by bus to Grottaferrata and Mass at the Convent of the Cistercian nuns sung by a Cistercian Abbot ; a visit to the Monastery of St Nilo.

Afternoon : SS. George and Sebastian.

Evening : P. Boyer, S.J., spoke on work of *Unitas Association*.

Thursday, 25th.—

Morning : Orthodox liturgy at Colosseum ; Dominican Mass at Santa Sabina.

Afternoon : Visit to St Bridget's house in Piazza Farnese.

Visit to Ara Coeli. (This because of a centenary celebration connected with St Clare.)

After dinner : lecture on the Tomb of St Peter.

Friday, 26th.—

Morning : Mass at the Gesù.

Afternoon : free. Some went to places that Luther is known to have frequented.

Evening : P. Vladimir (Orthodox priest) on Persecution in Yugoslavia.

Saturday, 27th.—

Mass near the tomb of St Peter in the Grottos under St Peter's.

Visit to the excavations in morning and afternoon.

Evening : general discussion on success etc. of pilgrimage.

Sunday, 28th.—

Morning : Papal Audience.

Afternoon and evening : many left.

The above gives some idea of what we did. I think the first thing to notice is that the itinerary was more or less in chronological order, the aim being to give us a sense of the history of the Church and a realization of the historical situation when the various splits occurred. The only major break with the historical order was taking St Peter's last. One could excuse this in many ways ; St Peter's, as it stands, is for non-Catholics a symbol of the Counter-Reformation and not altogether palatable on first sight. Secondly, a visit to the tomb of St Peter is bound to be the culmination of a visit to Rome, particularly a pilgrim's visit. So in fact it was, on this occasion, put last.

Another thing one noticed was that the time-table was a little overloaded. That is on the right side, but it might have been wiser to have pruned the original plan even more than was done.

The third general remark is this, and the plan shows it clearly; here was not an ordinary ecumenical meeting filled with theological discussions. It was primarily a pilgrimage. From this several results follow.

In the first place the aim was prayer, and prayer at the shrines. It so happened that the members of the pilgrimage were all of a very sacramental frame of mind; they were ready and indeed eager to share, in so far as they could, in the Masses offered at the various shrines. If on the other hand they had included among their number, Baptists and Low Churchmen, these would have found it impossible to have participated in these liturgies. Some, who believed in such things, would have shared in the Mass—in so far as they could—others, who could not, would have had to stay away. It would have broken the community spirit. On the other hand it would have created an even more vivid sense of division. We should not aim at deceiving ourselves into the idea that all is well.

The prayers done in common, the Masses assisted at in Rome in Subiaco, at Grottaferrata, were not important because they were prayer in common but rather because they were prayer at all. The praying in common, in one or two cases, had deceived the praying individual into a make-belief sense of unity. It is important therefore not to make too much of this praying in common. It is the easiest way to appear united, but the dogmatic and moral and canonical differences still remain.

The origin of the pilgrimage was this. Some years ago a group of Orthodox led by an American Episcopalian lady—the same as the one who initiated this one—went to Rome, a dozen perhaps. This had been so successful in a quiet way that she determined to get a more representative group. The Orthodox agreed to go again, and they collected among themselves representatives from many of the national groups. Some young Anglicans came and also the one Lutheran lady from Sweden. The Catholics were not officially on the pilgrimage at all, they were there more as aids, guides, what you will. It is doubtful whether officially the Church would approve of a joint pilgrimage with non-Catholics. The situation in Rome was deceptive in this matter, because the places to visit are in Catholic hands, and all that happened was that Orthodox and Anglican came to our churches, our shrines, and joined in with our prayers. Now, the Church has no objection to non-Catholics coming to our churches and even discreetly joining in our prayers; it is the commonest thing in England for Protestants to go to Benediction. That is often their first taste of Catholic things.

It would be quite different if the pilgrimage were to some non-Catholic shrine and the service were conducted by a non-Catholic, especially if it were in a non-Catholic liturgical form. The Church authorities would refuse permission for Catholics to take part. In 1949 the Holy Office laid down clearly what Catholics could and could not do in these matters. They could participate in common prayers with non-Catholics provided they were recognized Catholic prayers such as the Our Father.

One of the problems of a pilgrimage of this kind is the problem of language. Even with all the goodwill in the world, the English group and the Orthodox group tended to remain apart. It was not from lack of good fellowship but from lack of a common language in which to converse. The Orthodox mostly knew French, but, though all the English had 'learnt French at school', it was about as useful to them as a spanner is to a baby. The aim of the pilgrimage was not talk; this fact is what differentiated it from other œcumenical gatherings; its aim was to prayer. Nevertheless, the ordinary conversation that one did in fact have in the evening after an expedition to Subiaco, or conversations during the walks or travelling to the various places, were among the most useful parts of the whole meeting. In private conversation much more is learnt in a far shorter time than at a ponderous conference where every word is weighed. This then is an obstacle which has to be realized, but can scarcely be overcome. In those little preparatory talks the night before each expedition, the speaker's words often had to be translated, and that was exhausting, but rewarding.

We learnt something about the management of a pilgrimage. We usually visited one or two churches in the morning and the same in the afternoon. The danger was that these became a tourist visit rather than the visit of a pilgrim. Several reasons could be given for this. In the first place, as we found it difficult to say prayers in common unless there was Mass—and we have already seen the future difficulties with regard to that—we tended to sit or kneel about in the church, or wander round looking at the monuments. Many of the Anglicans and most Protestants have an added obstacle that they do not believe in praying to the saints. But as most of the churches in Rome are famous or places of pilgrimage because of the presence of the relics of a particular saint, they found themselves out of step with the Catholic and the Orthodox, both of whom have great veneration for relics and pray to saints. Thus,

though it was suggested that a good prayer in our journeys to the shrines would be a litany of the saints, this of course was unacceptable.

One of the most important differences between this meeting of members of various Communions and all others was that, as the essential purpose was not discussion but prayer, the membership had not to be confined to the very clever or the professional theologians or to those who were broken in to œcumenical work. Anyone can pray, often the simple know how better than do the intelligent. This perhaps was more realized by the English than by the Orthodox; the former were a cheerful crowd of young men—there is no reason why a cheerful crowd of young women should not have joined us—who were interested in theology. Some were studying theology, but none were expert. Whereas the Orthodox were professors and their wives, accustomed to the high-powered meetings of the World Council of Churches and such like gatherings. These were a little disappointed that the same contacts had not been achieved at this meeting that they associated with such affairs. On the other hand the English went away quite happy. They had expected nothing else.

This very fact, that anyone is eligible, has however its own dangers, just as the other kind of meeting has its own too. The usual danger of the œcumenical meeting is that the 'same old crowd' meet each other year after year, and they become isolated from their own Communions whom they have left far behind. In any case what Prof. X says will have no influence on R. P. Père Z. because he has heard it all before. In the Pilgrim type of meeting, the danger is that the people who come might have no real interest in the praying but only in the journey, in the sightseeing, in the general social contacts. This was not true of this the first Unity Pilgrimage, but once it becomes known, how are the true prayers to be sorted out from the flighty ones? We will be, unless careful, back again with the Canterbury pilgrims of Chaucer's time. A method of separating the goats from the sheep will have to be found.

It had been suggested that on arrival at the place of pilgrimage some passage from the writings of the saint or something written on him should be read. At Subiaco for instance one might have read passages from the Holy Rule or from the Dialogues of St Gregory, at St Laurence's passages on his martyrdom and so on. In fact we did not because we came unprepared. The night before someone usually did give us a little historical disquisition on the places to be visited

the following day. We began with a talk on the nature of pilgrims; then a talk on Benedictines, one on Cistercians, another on the Tomb of St Peter, and so on. This could have been done more thoroughly each evening. Then perhaps a little discourse or sermonette was preached at one or two places, at the catacomb, at St Gregory's. This part of the programme could be much extended and improved. The danger here is that instead of a prayerful discourse at the shrine, the speaker tends to become merely a second-rate Baedekker or Guide Bleu. His aim should really be to inspire his listeners with ideas which would lead them to meditate upon the Will of God and God's will for the Unity of all Christians.

This leads one to remember an important point connected with the praying for unity. On the first Unity Pilgrimage some pilgrims had a considerable discussion as to the form our prayers should take when praying for unity. Should they be: O God grant that all Christians may be soon united to the See of Peter? Or should they be: O God in this problem of Unity, Thy will be done? Most of the Orthodox and most of the Anglicans present could only succeed in honestly saying the second. Which should one say? The answer is clear. All must pray with the root idea that only God's Will should be done. Thy will be done O Lord. But in so far as any soul is sure of what the will of God is; and Catholics for example are sure on the point of the Papacy, they can add that they want all to realize as they do the need for unity with the See of Rome.

There is a danger that those who hear about the pilgrimage isolate the pilgrims from the purpose of their journey. The pilgrims in themselves and even the things they did, the places they visited, were not the important point about it at all, the important point was prayer for unity. Thus besides the few who went to Rome, not more than thirty-nine in all, hundreds, probably thousands, were joining in the prayers offered in Rome by offering their own wherever they were all over the world, and this particularly true of contemplative nuns. Although those who went were in the limelight, they tried in so far as that was possible to remain personally anonymous. The pilgrimage was the Thing, not the pilgrims. And in the pilgrimage, the sightseeing was not the Thing, but the praying. This was the burden of the Holy Father's remarks to the pilgrims during audience. He welcomed us particularly, he said, because we had come to Rome to PRAY.

DOM COLUMBA CARY-ELWES.

THE EPISTLES, GOSPELS AND TONES OF THE BYZANTINE LITURGICAL YEAR

(Continued)

III.

THE CYCLE OF THE IMMOVABLE FEASTS

There are two tables of epistles and gospels, one of the annual cycle and the other of the immovable feasts.

Feasts which do not depend on the date of Easter, but which have a fixed date in the calendar, are grouped in the 'Month-cycle', the 'Menaia'. Christmas and Epiphany are included in this cycle.

The liturgical year begins on 1st September.

Nearly every day of the year the feast of a Saint is celebrated with a proper epistle and gospel for that day. There is only an obligation on the great and medium feasts (those with night vigil) to read these epistles and gospels. For the lesser and simple feasts they are 'ad libitum'.

THE SELECTION OF EPISTLES AND GOSPELS

There is no general rule for the selection of epistles and gospels from the two cycles. Every church, monastery or country has its own usage. Very often two epistles and gospels are read.

On Sundays the annual cycle may only be completely omitted on 1st class feasts of Our Lord: the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Christmas, Epiphany, the Sundays before and after these feasts, and Transfiguration.

If any other feast falls on a Sunday, the epistle and gospel of the Sunday and that of the feast are both read; or, as often occurs, the epistle is of the feast and the gospel of the Sunday.

On Weekdays. In common practice a feast of higher 'rank' has priority over the annual cycle. The annual cycle, however, usually takes precedence over a feast of lower 'rank'.

The 'Rank' of feasts. The feasts are divided into four groups:

1. The great feasts.
2. The medium feasts.
3. The lesser feasts.
4. The simple feasts.

The liturgical books do not use the term 'simple feasts', but allude to 'feasts without signs'. They are in fact commemorations only. Certain of the groups are subdivided, making a total of 7 'ranks' (according to some usages only 6 or 5).

The 'rank' is indicated in the liturgical calendars by a sign and the word 'rank' is never used.

The 'rank' of certain feasts differs somewhat in the Greek and Slavonic usages.

The following explanation of the ranks and signs and their qualification according to the Greek and Slavonic usage is only a rough scheme, as the Byzantine rite contains such a variety in the construction of the feasts, that it is impossible to give an exact indication of 'ranks'. The Byzantine rite does not observe 'rules' or 'rubrics' as strictly as the Latin rite does and is more liberal in the application of the many possibilities.

1. *The Great Feasts*, often called the 'twelve great feasts'. For the 'twelve great feasts' the Greeks and Slavs use different signs in their calendars.

A. The Greek calendar makes a difference between the feasts of Our Lord (I) and the feasts of Our Lady (II), because the feasts of Our Lady never replace the Sunday Office. Therefore, a special sign is given and these two groups of 'great feasts' are arranged as follows :

(a) Feasts of Our Lord ⊕ red (I) :

Dec. 25. The Nativity of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ,
 Jan. 6. The Divine Manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ,
 Aug. 6. The Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ,
 Sept. 14. The Exaltation of the Holy Cross,
 Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (Palm-Sunday),
 The Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ,
 Holy Pentecost.

(b) Feasts of Our Lady ⊕ black (II) :

Sept. 8. The Nativity of the ever-virgin Mother of God,
 Nov. 21. The Presentation in the Temple of the Mother of God,
 Feb. 2. The Presentation in the Temple of Jesus Christ,
 Mar. 25. The Annunciation of the Incarnation,
 Aug. 15. The Falling Asleep of the Mother of God (Assumption).

B. The Slavonic calendar counts the 3 feasts of the Paschal cycle (Palm-Sunday, Ascension and Pentecost) as something apart and makes up a total of '12 1st class feasts' by adding :

June 24. The Nativity of the Prophet and Forerunner John the Baptist,
 June 29. The glorious Leaders of the Apostles, Peter and Paul,

Aug. 29. The Beheading of the Prophet and Forerunner John the Baptist.

All these feasts have the sign ⊕ red (I).

The Greeks and Slavs agree in that only the great feasts of Our Lord have a 2nd Vespers with Entrance and Great Prokimenon and that the feasts of Our Lady (in the Slavonic usage also the other three 1st class feasts) never replace the Sunday Resurrection Office; the feast's texts are added to those of the Sunday. The Resurrection-gospel of the Morning office is, however, replaced by the gospel of the feast.

The title-feast of the church may always be elevated to the rank of a great feast.¹

2. *The Medium Feasts.*

These are the great feasts of the Saints. At Vespers entrance and lessons, in the Morning-office Polyeleos (Ps 134-5) and a Gospel.

Greek sign ✕ red (III) for feasts with or without night vigil.

Slavonic sign ⊕ red (II) for feasts with night vigil;

„ „ ⊕ red (III) for feasts without night vigil.

3. *The Lesser Feasts.*

(a) Feasts with the Great Doxology in the Morning office.

Greek sign ✕ black (IV)

Slavonic sign ⅈ red (IV)

(b) Feasts without the Great Doxology, but having e.g. stichera at the Laudate Psalms (sometimes called the 5th rank), or only Doxastica at Vespers (and Lauds) sometimes called the 6th rank.

The Greeks have no signs for the lesser feasts without the Great Doxology.

The Slavs use the sign ⅈ black (V).

4. *The simple feasts*, or commemorations, sometimes called the 7th rank (or otherwise the 6th, see above), have only 3 stichera at Vespers, and mostly an Apolytikion and Kontakion.

¹ Some other feasts also have the sign of a great feast: In the Greek calendar 26th December The Divine Maternity of the most holy Mother of God (II). In the Slavonic calendar 1st October The Protection of our Most Holy Lady Mother of God, the ever-virgin Mary (I); and 1st January, The Circumcision of Our Lord (I). These feasts however are not reckoned with the 12 great feasts. The 'Typicon' (ceremony-book) states quite clearly: '... Though these feasts have a 1st class sign, they do not belong to the 12 great feasts'.

Consequently: according to the Greek usage the Great Feasts are divided in rank I and II, and the medium group is indicated as rank III. The Slavonic usage indicates all the Great Feasts as rank I, and divides the medium group in rank II and III.

The Sunday is classified as a higher medium feast (Greek III, Slavonic II) and as mentioned above can never be replaced by a feast of the Mother of God or a Saint. The Paschal Feast is not counted as one of the twelve great feasts; it is the 'Feast of feasts' and is above classification.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GREAT FEASTS OF OUR LORD AND OUR LADY.

The solemnity of these feasts is increased by a preparation of one or more days (pre-feast) and by an after-feast of 4 to 9 days, and is closed by a final feastday with Great Doxology.

The day following the feast is often dedicated to saints who have played an important role in the mystery commemorated on the feast day e.g.:

- Sept. 9. SS. Joachim and Anne,
- Dec. 26. The Divine Maternity of the holy Mother of God,
- Jan. 7. The Prophet and Forerunner John the Baptist,
- Feb. 3. SS. Simeon and Anne,
- Mar. 26. The Archangel Gabriel,
- June 30. The College of the Twelve Apostles.

THREE SPECIAL FASTS.

The feasts of Christmas, SS. Peter and Paul and the Falling Asleep of the Mother of God are specially prepared for by fasting.

In contrast with the Great Fast of Lent, these periods are called 'Small Fasts', in that they are less severe and are only observed on Monday, Wednesday and Friday (for lay-people only as days of abstinence), provided no feast occurs on these days. If the fast is kept, the day is a-liturgical and the offices are celebrated with the 'great prostrations'.

The small fast of Christmas lasts for 40 days, from 15th November.

The small fast of SS. Peter and Paul in theory lasts 40 days, but as no fast can take place in Paschaltide, this small fast begins actually the Monday after All Saints (=after the 1st Sunday after Pentecost). Therefore the later the date of Easter, the shorter the 'Fast of the Apostles'.

The small fast of the Mother of God lasts from 1st—14th August, but this fast is interrupted for the Transfiguration and its after-feast.

There are two feasts which are strict fast days: the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (even should it fall on a Sunday), and the Beheading of the glorious Prophet and Forerunner John the Baptist.

The Feasts of the Saints are grouped as follows:

1. The Angels, named the 'Bodiless Powers'.
2. The Prophets, among whom also the 'righteous' of the Ancient Law.
3. The Apostles; also the Evangelists Mark and Luke, the 72 Disciples of Our Lord, and some Saints, honoured as 'equal to the Apostles'.
4. The Martyrs, among whom are the 'first Martyrs', the 'Bishop Martyrs', the 'Great Martyrs' and the 'Religious Martyrs'.
5. The 'Osioi' (pious, venerable): the Fathers (especially the Bishops and Founders of religious institutes), the Monks and Hermits. Some of them have the title 'Confessor'.
6. The Holy Women, including 'Martyrs' and religious, named 'Venerable Mother'.

TABLE OF EPISTLES AND GOSPELS FOR THE CYCLE OF THE IMMOVABLE FEASTS

This table contains the epistles and gospels for all the feasts of 'rank' I to IV, i.e. for all the feasts with the 'Great Doxology' in the Morning Office.

Instead of the signs used for indicating the rank, Roman cyphers are given to facilitate printing, as follows:

<i>Greek usage</i>		<i>Slavonic usage</i>	
⊕	red I	⊕	red I
⊕	black II	⊕	red II
⊗	red III	+	red III
⊗	black IV	ε	red IV
		ε	black V

September

Greek Slav.

1	III	III	The Beginning of the Indict, i.e. of the New Year I Tim. ii, 1-8, Luke iv, 16-22c.
6	IV	V	The Archangel Michael. Heb. ii, 2-11; Luke x, 16-22.
8	II	I	THE NATIVITY OF OUR MOST HOLY LADY, THE MOTHER OF GOD AND EVER-VIRGIN MARY. Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-7. Liturgy Phil. ii, 5-12, Luke x, 38-41; xi, 27-9.

- III II Sat. before Exalt. I Cor. ii, 6-10; Matt. x, 37-xi, 2.
Sun. before Exalt. Gal. vi, 11-end; John iii, 13-18.
- 13 III IV Dedication of the Resurr. Church. Heb. iii, 1-5. Greek :
John xii, 25-36b. Slav. : Matt. xvi, 13-20.
- 14 I I THE EXALTATION OF THE HONOURABLE AND LIFE-GIVING
CROSS. Morn. off. John xii, 28-36b; Liturgy : I Cor. i,
18-25; John xix, 6-11b; 13-21; 25-28b; 30b-35b.
- III II Sat. after Exalt. Ep. Greek : I Cor. i, 26-11, 6. Slav. :
I Cor. i, 26-30; Gosp. John viii, 21-31.
Sun. after Exalt. Gal. ii, 16-21; Mark viii, 34b-ix.
- 23 IV IV The Conception of the Prophet and Forerunner John
the Baptist. Gal. iv, 22-8; Luke i, 5-26.
- 25 — III *The holy Father Superior Sergius, Miracle worker. Morn.*
off. Matt. xi, 27-xii; Liturgy Luke vi, 17-24; Heb.
xiii, 7-17.^a
- 26 III II St John the Theologian, Ap. and Ev. Morn. off. John xxi,
14-end; Liturgy I John iv, 12-20; John xix, 25-8;
xxi, 24-end.
- 28 V III St Chariton, Conf. Morn. off. Matt. iv, 25-v, 1-14;
Liturgy II Cor. iv, 6-16; Luke vi, 17-24.

October

- I — I The Protection of our most Holy Lady, the Mother of God
and ever-virgin Mary. Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-7.
Liturgy Heb. ix, 1-8; Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-29.
- 6 IV III St Thomas, Apostle. Slav. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end.
Liturgy I Cor. iv, 9-16c; John xx, 19-xxi.
- 9 IV III St James, Ap., the son of Alphaeus. Slav. Morn. off. John
xxi, 15-end. Liturgy I Cor. iv, 9-16c Greek : Matt. ix,
36-x, 1-9. Slav. : John xvii, 1-18.
- 11 III II The Sunday which falls between 11-17th Oct. : The
Fathers of the 7th Synod, held at Nicea A.D. 787. Ep.
Greek : Titus iii, 8-end; Slav. : Heb. xiii, 7-17. Gosp.
Greek : Matt. v, 14-20; Slav. : John xvii, 1-18.
- 13 — III *The Apparition of the miraculous Eikon of the Holy Mother*
of God at Iverskia. Phil. ii, 5-12; Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-9.
- 18 IV III St Luke, Ap. and Ev. Slav. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end.
Liturgy Ep. Greek : Col. iv, 5-end; Slav. : Col. iv, 5-10;
14-15; 18-end. Gosp. Luke x, 16-22.
- 22 — III *The celebration of the Holy Mother of God, in honour of the*
miraculous Eikon of Kazan. Phil. ii, 5-12; Luke x, 38-xi;
xi, 27-9.
- 23 IV IV St James, Ap., the brother of Our Lord. Gal. i, 11-20;
Matt. xiii, 54-xiv.
- 24 — III *The commemoration of the Apparition of the Eikon of the*
Holy Mother of God, Joy of all the afflicted.
Phil. ii, 5-12; Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-9.
- 26 III III (Ukrainian usage II) The Great Martyr Demetrius,
Myroblyte and Miracle-worker Morn. off. Greek : Luke
xxi, 12-20; Slav. : Matt. x, 16-23. Liturgy II Tim. ii,
1-11; Greek : John xv, 17-27; xvi, 1-3; Slav. : Matt.
viii, 23-8.
- 28 — IV St Parasceva, Martyr, and her Eikon. Morn. off. Matt.
xxv, 1-14. Liturgy II Cor. vi, 1-10; Luke vii, 36-viii.

^a The feasts printed in italics are only observed locally and are given in the Slavonic Gospel book in small print i.e. 'ad libitum'.

November

- 3 IV VI Deposition of the Relics of the Great-Martyr St George. Eph. ii, 4-11; Luke xii, 2-13.
- 8 III III (Ukrainian usage II.) The Archangel Michael and the other Heavenly Powers. Morn. off. Greek: Matt xviii, 10-21; Slav.: Matt. xiii, 23-31. Liturgy Heb. ii, 2-11; Luke x, 16-22.
- 12 — MI (Ukrainian usage II.) The Holy Martyr Josaphat, Archbishop of Poland. Morn. off. John x, 1-10. Liturgy Heb. iv, 24-v, 11; John x, 9-17.
- 13 III II St John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople. Morn. off. John x, 1-10. Liturgy Heb. vii, 26-viii, 3; John x, 9-17.
- 14 IV III St Philip, Ap. Slav. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end. Liturgy Acts viii, 26-40; Slav.: I Cor. iv, 9-17. Gosp. John i, 43-ii St Matthew, Ap. and Ev. Slav. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end. Liturgy I Cor. iv, 9-16c; Matt. ix, 9-14.
- 21 II I THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE OF OUR MOST HOLY LADY, THE MOTHER OF GOD AND EVER-VIRGIN MARY. Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-7. Liturgy Heb. ix, 1-8; Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-29.
- 22 V VI St Philemon. Ep. Philemon, i, 1-end.
- 25 IV — St Katharine, Martyr. Morn. off. Matt xxv, 1-14. Liturgy Gal. iii, 23-iv, 6; Mark v, 24-35 (Slavonic calendar: St Katharine on 24th Nov. as rank V).
- 27 — III The apparition of the Holy Mother of God at Novgorod the Great. Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-7; Liturgy Heb. ix, 1-8; Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-29.
- 30 III III The Holy Apostle Andrew, the First-called. Morn. off. Matt. iv, 18-24. Liturgy I Col. iv, 9-16c; Greek: John i, 35-ii; Slav.: John i, 35-43.

December

- 5 III II St Sabbas. Morn. off. Luke vi, 17-23c. Liturgy Gal. v, 22-vi, 3; Matt. xi, 27-xii.
- 6 III II St Nicholas the Miracle-worker, Archbishop of Myra. Morn. off. Greek: John x, 1-10; Slav.: John x, 9-17. Liturgy Heb. xiii, 17-22; Luke vi, 17-23b.
- 9 IV IV (Ukrainian and Melkite usage II.) Conception of St Anne, when she conceived the Mother of God. Ep. Greek: Gal. iv, 22-8; Slav.: Gal. iv, 22-v. Gosp. Luke viii, 16-22.
- 11 III II The Sunday which falls between 11-17th Dec.: the Holy Ancestors of Our Lord since Adam, and the Prophets up to St John the Baptist. Col. iii, 4-12; Greek: Luke xiv, 16-25 and Matt. xxii, 14-15; Slav.: Luke xiv, 16-25.
- 12 III V St Spyridon the Miracle-worker, Bishop of Trimythus. Greek: Morn. off. John x, 1-10. Liturgy Eph. v, 9-20; John x, 9-17.
- 13 V III The Holy Martyrs Eustratius, Auxence, Eugene, Mardarius and Orestes. Slav. Morn. off. Matt. x, 16-23. Liturgy Eph. vi, 10-18; Greek: Luke xxi, 12-20; Slav.: Luke xxi, 12-28.
- 15 IV VI The Priest martyr Eleutherius. II Tim. i, 8-11; Mark ii, 23-iii, 6.
- III II Sat. before Christmas. Gal. iii, 8-13; Luke xiii, 19-30. Sun. before Christmas. All the just of the Old Law who are agreeable to God, from Abraham up to St Joseph, the

- spouse of the Mother of God. Ep. Greek : Heb. xi, 9-11 ; 32-xii ; Slav. : Heb. xi, 9-11 ; 17-24 ; 32-xii. Gosp. Greek : Matt. i, 1-ii ; Slav. : Matt. i, 1-18.
- 24 The Paramony of the Nativity of Christ.
Prime : Heb. i, 1-13 ; Matt. i, 18-ii.
Terce : Gal. iii, 23-iv, 6 ; Luke ii, 1-21.
Sext : Heb. i, 10-ii, 4 ; Matt. ii, 1-13.
None : Heb. ii, 11-iii ; Matt. ii, 13-iii.
Vespers and Liturgy Heb. i, 1-13 ; Luke ii, 1-21.
- 15 I I THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD, GOD AND SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST. Morn. off. Matt. i, 18-ii. Liturgy Gal. iv, 4-8 ; Matt. ii, 1-13.
- 26 II IV The Divine Maternity of the most holy Mother of God. Heb. ii, 11-iii ; Matt. ii, 13-iii.
III II Sat. after Christmas. I Tim. vi, 11b-17 ; Matt. xii, 15b-22.
Sun. after Christmas. St Joseph the Spouse, St David the King, and St James the Lord's brother. Gal. i, 11-20 ; Matt. ii, 13-iii.
- 27 V V St Stephen, Archdeacon. Ep. Acts vi, 8-vii, 5b, 47-viii.
- January*
- 1 III I The Circumcision of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Morn. off. Greek : John x, 1-10 ; Slav. : John x, 9-17. Liturgy Col. ii, 8-13 ; Luke ii, 20-2 ; 40-iii.
On the same day : the Memory of St Basil the Great, Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Heb. vii, 26-viii, 3 ; Luke vi, 17-23b.
5 III II Sat. before Epiphany. Ep. Greek : I Tim. iii, 13-iv, 6 ; Slav. : I Tim. iii, 14-iv, 6. Gosp. Greek : Matt. iii, 1-7 ; Slav. : Matt. iii, 1-11.
Sun. before Epiphany. II Tim. iv, 5-8 ; Mark i, 1-9.
Paramony of the Epiphany :
Prime : Acts xiii, 25-33b. Greek : Matt. iii, 1-7 ; Slav. : Matt. iii, 1-11.
Terce : Acts xix, 1-9 ; Mark i, 1-9.
Sext : Rom. vi, 3b-12. Greek : Mark i, 9-12 ; Slav. : Mark i, 9-16.
None : Tit. ii, 11-15 ; iii, 4-8. Greek : Luke iii, 1-19 ; Slav. : Matt. iii, 13-iv.
Vespers and Liturgy : I Cor. ix, 19-x ; Luke iii, 1-19.
Blessing of the Water : I Cor. x, 1-5.
- 6 I I THE EPIPHANY, THAT IS THE DIVINE MANIFESTATION OF OUR LORD, GOD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. Morn. off. Mark i, 9-12. Liturgy Tit. ii, 11-15 ; iii, 4-8 ; Matt. iii, 13-iv.
- 7 IV IV St John the Baptist. Acts xix, 1-9 ; John i, 29-35.
III II Sat. after Epiphany. Eph. vi, 10-18 ; Matt. iv, 1-12.
Sun. after Epiphany. Eph. iv, 7-14 ; Matt. iv, 12-18.
- 11 III III St Theodosius, Superior of Cenobites. Morn. off. Luke vi, 17-23c. Liturgy Ep. Greek : Heb. xiii, 7-17 ; Slav. : II Cor. iv, 6-16. Gosp. Matt. xi, 27-xii.
- 16 IV V The Veneration of the precious chains of the Holy Apostle Peter. Acts xii, 1-12 ; John xxi, 15-end.
- 17 III II St Anthony the Great. Morn. off. Matt. xi, 27-xii. Liturgy Heb. xiii, 17-22 ; Luke vi, 17-23c.
- 18 III V SS. Athanasius and Cyril, Archbishops of Alexandria. Morn. off. John x, 9-17. Liturgy Heb. xiii, 7-17 ; Matt. v, 14-20.

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20	III	II	St Euthymius the Great. Morn. off. Matt. xi, 27-xii. Liturgy II Cor. iv, 6-16; Luke vi, 17-23c.
25	III	III	St Gregory of Nazianzen, the Theologian. Morn. off. John x, 1-10. Liturgy Ep. Greek: Heb. vii, 26-viii, 3; Slav.: I Cor. xii, 7-12. Gosp. John x, 9-17.
27	III	III	The Translation of the Relics of St John Chrysostom. Morn. off. John x, 1-10. Liturgy Heb. vii, 26-viii, 3; John x, 9-17.
30	III	II	The three great Hierarchs: St Basil the Great, St Gregory the Theologian and St John Chrysostom. Morn. off. John x, 9-17. Liturgy Heb. xiii, 7-17; Matt. v, 14-20.

February

2	II	I	THE ENCOUNTER OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. Morn. off. Luke ii, 25-33. Liturgy Heb. vii, 7-18; Luke ii, 22-41.
14	—	III	<i>The Death of St Cyril, Doctor of the Slavs.</i> Morn. off. John x, 1-10. Liturgy Gal. v, 22-vi, 3; John x, 9-17.
24	III	III	The First and Second Discovery of the honourable Head of the Forerunner, St John the Baptist. Morn. off. Luke vii, 17-31. Liturgy II Cor. iv, 6-16; Matt. xi, 2-16.

March

9	III	III	The 40 Great-Martyrs of Sebastia. Morn. off. Luke xxi 12-20; Heb. xii, 1-11; Matt. xx, 1-17.
25	II	I	THE BLESSED ANNUNCIATION TO THE MOTHER OF GOD OF THE INCARNATION. Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-57. Liturgy Heb. ii, 11-iii, 1; Luke i, 24-39.
26	VII	IV	The Archangel Gabriel. Heb. ii, 2-11; Luke x, 16-22.

April

6	—	III	<i>The Death of St Methodius, Doctor of the Slavs.</i> Morn. off. John x, 1-10. Liturgy Heb. vii, 26-viii, 3; John x, 9-17.
23	III	II	The Great Martyr St George the Triumphant. Morn. off. Greek: Luke xxi, 12-20; Slav.: Luke xi, 2-8. Liturgy Acts xii, 1-12; John xv, 17-xvi, 3.
25	IV	III	St Mark, Ap. and Ev. Slav. Morn. off. Luke x, 1-16. Liturgy I Peter v, 6-end. Greek: Luke x, 16-22; Slav.: Mark vi, 7-14.
30	IV	III	St James, Ap., the brother of St John. Slav. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end. Liturgy Acts xii, 1-12. Greek: Luke ix, 1-7; Slav.: Luke v, 1-12.

May

2	IV	V	St Athanasius Heb. xiii, 7-17; Matt. v, 14-20.
3	—	III	<i>The Death of St Theodosius, Founder of the Cenobitic life in Russia.</i> Morn. off. Luke vi, 17-23c. Liturgy Heb. xiii, 7-17; Matt. xi, 27-xii.
8	III	II	St John the Theologian, Ap. and Ev. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end. Liturgy I John i, 1-8; John xix, 25-8; xxi, 14-end.
9	—	III	<i>The Translation of the relics of St Nicholas to Bari.</i> Morn. off. John x, 1-9. Liturgy Heb. xiii, 17-22; Luke vi, 17-23c.
10	IV	III	The Apostle Simon Zelotes. Slav. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end. Liturgy I Cor. iv, 9-16c; Matt. xiii, 53-xiv.
11	—	II	<i>The Saints Equal-to-the-Apostles Methodius and Cyril, Doctors of the Slavs.</i> Morn. off. John x, 1-10. Liturgy Heb. xiii, 17-22; John x, 9-17.

- 21 III III The great and holy Sovereigns, Equal-to-the-Apostles, Constantine and Helen. Morn. off. John x, 9-17. Liturgy Ep. Greek : Acts xxvi, 1-10; 12-21; Slav. : Gal i, 11-20 or during Eastertide Acts xxvi, 1-6; 12-21. Gosp. John x, 1-10.
- III *On the same day : The 'Encounter' of the miraculous Vladimir-Eikon of the Mother of God.* Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-7. Liturgy Phil. ii, 5-12; Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-29.
- 25 III III The Discovery of the honourable Head of the Forerunner St John the Baptist. Morn. off. Luke vii, 17-31. Liturgy II Cor. iv, 6-16; Matt xi, 2-16.

June

- 11 IV III SS. Bartholomew and Barnabas. Slav. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end. Liturgy Acts xi, 19-end; Luke x, 16-22.
- 19 VI III St Jude, Ap. Slav. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end. Liturgy Ep. Greek : III John i, 1-end and Jude i, 1-11; Slav. : Jude i, 1-11. Gosp. John xiv, 21-5.
- 23 — III *The Celebration of the Encounter of the miraculous Vladimir-Eikon of the Mother of God.* Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-7. Liturgy Phil. ii, 5-12; Luke 38-xi; 27-9.
- 24 III I THE NATIVITY OF THE HONOURABLE, GLORIOUS PROPHET AND FORERUNNER, ST JOHN THE BAPTIST. Morn. off. Luke i, 24-6; 57-69; 76-77; 80-ii. Liturgy Rom. xiii, 11-xiv, 5; Luke i, 1-26; 57-69; 76-ii.
- 26 — III *The Apparition of the Eikon of the Mother of God of Tichvin.* Phil. ii, 5-12; Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-9.
- 29 III I THE GLORIOUS AND MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SAINTS, APOSTLES AND CHIEF PRIMATES PETER AND PAUL. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end. Liturgy II Cor. xi, 21b-xii, 10; Matt. xvi, 13-20.
- 30 IV III The Council of the holy and glorious Twelve Apostles. I Cor. iv, 9-16c. Greek : Matt. ix, 36-7; x, 1-9; Slav. : Mark iii, 13-20.

July

- 2 IV IV (Ukrainian usage III.) The Deposition of the Robe of the Holy Mother of God at Blachernae. Ep. Greek : Phil. iii, 20-iv, 4; Slav. : Heb. ix, 1-8. Gosp. Greek : Luke i, 39-50; 56-7; Slav. : Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-9.
- 5 — III Our Venerable Father Athanasius of Athos. Morn. off. Matt. xi, 27-xii. Liturgy Gal. v, 22-vi, 3; Luke vi, 17-23c.
- 8 — III *The Apparition of the Eikon of the Mother of God at Kazan.* Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-7. Liturgy Phil. ii, 5-12; Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-9.
- 10 — III Our Venerable Father Anthony of the Caves of Kiev. Gal. v, 22-vi, 3; Luke vi, 17-23c.
- 13 III II The Sunday which falls between 13th and 19th July. The Holy Fathers of the first six Oecumenical Councils (especially that of Chalcedon) Ep. Greek : Tit. iii, 8-end; Slav. : Heb. xiii, 7-17. Gosp. Matt. v, 14-20.
- 15 — II *The Holy Equal-to-the-Apostles Grand Duke Vladimir.* Morn. off. John x, 9-17. Liturgy Gal. i, 11-25; John x, 1-9.
- 20 III IV (Ukrainian usage II.) The holy Prophet Elias. Morn. off. Greek : Luke xxi, 12-20; Slav. : Luke iv, 22b-31. Liturgy James v, 10-end; Luke iv, 22b-31.

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- 24 — III *SS. Boris and Gleb, Martyrs. Morn. off. Luke xxi, 12-20. Liturgy Rom. viii, 28-ix; John xv, 17-xvi, 2b. (Ukrainian usage III.) The Repose of St Anne, the mother of the most holy Mother of God. Gal. iv, 22-8; Luke viii, 16-22.*
- 25 IV IV *(Ukrainian usage III.) The Great Martyr Panteleimon. II Tim. ii, 1-11. Greek: Luke xxi, 12-20; Slav.: John xv, 17-xvi, 2b.*
- 27 III V *The Apparition of the Eikon of Smolensk of the Mother of God, our Guide. Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-7. Liturgy Phil. ii, 5-12; Luke x, 38-xi, xi, 27-9.*
- 28 — III

August

- 1 IV IV *Procession of the venerable and vivifying Cross: and the Seven Holy Machabees. For the blessing of the water: Heb. vi, 11-end; John v, 1-5. Liturgy: for the Holy Cross: Eph. iv, 14-20; John xix, 6b-11b; 13-21; 25-9; 30b-35b. for the Seven Holy Martyrs: Greek: Heb. xi, 33-xii, 2b; Matt. x, 16-23; Slav.: Tit. i, 15-ii, 11; Matt. x, 32-xi. The Translation of the Relics of St Stephen, Archdeacon. Ep. Acts vi, 8-vii, 5b; 47-59d.*
- 2 VI V *THE HOLY TRANSFIGURATION OF OUR LORD, GOD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. Morn. off. Luke ix, 28-37. Liturgy II Pet. i, 10-20; Matt. xvii, 1-10.*
- 6 I I *St Matthias Ap. Morn. off. John xxi, 15-end. Liturgy Acts i, 12-18; 21-ii. Greek: Luke x, 16-22; Slav.: Luke ix, 1-7.*
- 9 VI III *Translation of the Relics of S. Theodosius. Morn. off. Luke vi, 17-23c. Liturgy Heb. xiii, 7-17; Matt. xi, 27-xii.*
- 14 — III *THE FALLING ASLEEP OF THE ALL-HOLY MOTHER OF GOD AND EVER-VIRGIN MARY. Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-7. Liturgy Phil. ii, 5-12; Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-9.*
- 15 II I *The Translation from Edessa to Constantinople of the Image made without help of human hand of Our Lord Jesus Christ, called the Holy Veil. Morn. off. Luke ix, 51-7. Liturgy Gal. iii, 23-iv, 6; Luke ix, 51-7.*
- 16 VI IV *Celebration of the miraculous Vladimir-Eikon of the Holy Mother of God. Morn. off. Luke i, 39-50; 56-7. Liturgy Phil. ii, 5-12; Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-9.*
- 26 — III *THE BEHEADING OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, PROPHET AND FORERUNNER. Morn. off. Matt. xiv, 1-14. Liturgy Acts xiii, 25-33b; Mark vi, 14-31.*
- 29 III I *(Ukrainian usage III.) The Deposition of the Girdle of the Holy Mother of God at Constantinople. Ep. Greek: Heb. ix, 1-8; Slav.: Phil. iii, 20-iv, 4. Gosp. Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-29.*
- 31 V VI

TABLE OF EPISTLES AND GOSPELS FOR THE SAINTS IN GENERAL

Greek usage

The Holy Bodiless

Powers	Ep. Heb. ii, 2-11	Gospel	Matt. xviii, 10-21
A Holy Prophet	" James v, 10-end	"	Matt. xxiii, 29-xxiv
Holy Prophets	" Heb. xi, 33-xii, 3	"	Matt. xxiii, 29-xxiv
A Holy Apostle	" Col. iv, 5-end	"	Luke x, 16-22
Holy Apostles	" I Cor. iv, 9-16c	"	Matt. ix, 36-7; x, 1-9
A Martyr	" II Tim. ii, 1-11	"	John xv, 17-xvi, 3
A Martyr (Paschaltide)	" Acts xii, 1-12		
Martyrs	" II Tim. ii, 1-11	"	Luke xxi, 12-20
A Bishop	" Heb. vii, 26-viii, 3	"	John x, 9-17
Bishops	" Heb. xiii, 17-22	"	Matt. v, 14-20
A Bishop Martyr	" Heb. iv, 14-v, 7	"	Luke xii, 8-13
Bishop Martyrs	" Heb. xiii, 7-17	"	Luke xii, 8-13
A Venerable Saint			
('Osios')	" Gal. v, 22-vi, 3	"	Luke vi, 17-23b
Venerable Saints	" II Cor. iv, 6-11		
A Monk Martyr	" II Tim. i, 8-11	"	Matt. vii, 12-22
Monk Martyrs	" Heb. x, 32-38b	"	Matt. vii, 12-22
A Woman Martyr	" I Cor. ix, 2-13	"	Mark v, 24-35
Holy Women Martyrs	" Gal. iv, 8-22	"	Mark v, 24-35
Holy Nuns		"	Matt. xxv, 1-14
Martyred Nuns		"	Matt. x, 16-23
Dedication	" Heb. ii, 11-iii	"	Matt. xvi, 13-20
		or	John x, 22-28b
For the Departed	" I Thess. iv, 12-v	"	John v, 24-31
	" I Cor. xv, 47-58	"	John v, 17-25
	" I Cor. xv, 20-9	"	John vi, 35-40
	" Rom. xiv, 6-10	"	John vi, 40-5
		"	John vi, 48-56

Slavonic usage

The Most Holy Mother

of God

Morning Office :

Liturgy :

or :

The Holy Bodiless

Powers of Heaven

Holy Prophets

A Holy Apostle

Holy Apostles

A Bishop

Bishops

Morning Office :

Liturgy :

Venerable Saints and the

Fools for Christ's sake

A Martyr

Ep. Phil. ii, 5-12	Gospel	Luke i, 39-50; 56-7
" Heb. ix, 1-8	"	Luke x, 38-xi; xi, 27-9
" Heb. ii, 2-11	"	Luke x, 16-22
" I Cor. xiv, 20-6	"	or Matt. xiii, 24-31; 36b-44
or Heb. vi, 13-21	"	Matt. xxiii, 29-xxiv
or James v, 10-end	"	or Luke xi, 47-55
" Col. iv, 5-end	"	Matt. ix, 36-x, 1-9
" I Cor. iv, 9-16c	"	Luke x, 1-16
" Heb. vii, 26-viii, 3	"	or Luke x, 16-22
" Heb. xiii, 17-22	"	John x, 9-17
" I Cor. iv, 10-17	"	John x, 1-10
or Gal. v, 22-vi, 3	"	Matt. v, 14-20
" II Tim. ii, 1-11	"	or John x, 9-17
	"	Matt. xi, 27-xii
	"	or Luke vi, 17-23c
	"	Luke xi, 2-13
	"	or John xv, 17-xvi, 3

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Martyrs	Ep. Rom. viii, 28-ix or Heb. xi, 33-xiii	Gospel Matt. x, 16-23 or Luke xxi, 12-20
A Martyred Priest (Bishop)	„ Heb. xiii, 7-17	„ Luke xii, 32-41
Martyred Priests (Bishops)	„ Heb. v, 4-11 or Phil. iii, 20-iv, 4	„ Luke vi, 17-23b or Luke x, 22-25 or Luke xiv, 25-xv
A Martyred Monk or Nun	„ II Tim. i, 8-ii	„ Mark viii, 34b-ix, 2
Martyred Monks or Nuns	„ Rom. viii, 28-ix	„ Matt. x, 32-4 : 37-9 or Matt. xix, 27-31 or Luke xii, 8-13
Holy Women Martyrs	„ II Cor. vi, 1-11 or Gal. iii, 23-iv	„ Matt. xv, 21-9 or Mark v, 24-35
Martyred Nuns	„ Gal. iii, 23-iv	„ Matt. xxv, 1-14 or Luke vii, 36-viii
Confessors	„ Eph. vi, 10-18	„ Luke xii, 8-13
The Holy Disinterested	„ I Cor. xii, 27-xiii, 9	„ Matt. x, 1 : 5-9
For the Departed		
Monday	„ Rom. xiv, 6-10	„ John v, 17-25
Tuesday	„ I Cor. xv, 39-58	„ John v, 24-31
Wednesday	„ II Cor. v, 1-11	„ John vi, 35-40
Thursday	„ I Cor. xv, 20-9	„ John vi, 40-5
Friday	„ I Cor. xv, 47-58	„ John vi, 48-55
Saturday	„ I Thess. iv, 13-v	„ John v, 24-31

(To be Continued.)

IRMGARD M. DE VRIES, OBL., O.S.B.
‘Vita et Pax’—Schotenhof, Antwerp.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Rt Rev. Benedict Mar Gregorios, O.I.C., M.A., D.D.

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
TRIVANDRUM 4, S. INDIA.

22nd July 1953.

DEAR EDITOR,

With deep grief I have to inform you of the demise of His Grace Mar Ivanios, archbishop of Trivandrum, on Wednesday 15th inst. Ever since His Grace returned from the States, his health was on the decline and since June last year he became completely bedridden. He was having cycles of ups and downs and in the course of his sickness he passed through not less than three serious crises. The good God gave him ample time and opportunity to arrange everything and to prepare himself for the last passage.

For a few days preceding his death, His Grace was in a comatose condition, but he became conscious about two hours before death. In the presence of the bishop of Tirunvalla and several priests gathered around the sinking archbishop, I anointed him at 9 p.m. Two hours later the saintly soul of this illustrious prelate peacefully passed away to its eternal reward. This heroic apostle, who did so much for God and his Church and who, with admirable patience suffered valiantly for over a year on his sick bed, slept in the Lord just as the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was being ushered in. Born on the Feast of the Nativity of our Blessed Lady, throughout his life ardently devoted to her, it was fitting that he departed from this life on the glorious Feast of Mount Carmel—a feast on which our divine Mother rewards her faithful children with all heavenly blessings.

The bishops, priests, religious and faithful of the Syro-Malankara Church feel that their tower of strength has been shattered. His life was spent in bringing about unity among Christians and to the end his mind was full of that thought. Some time before his death he told me in all simplicity and earnestness: 'Even after I reach heaven I will do my best for the progress of the Reunion Movement'. May the merciful Lord soon admit him to his presence and grant him his heart's desire!

The funeral was conducted with due solemnity on Friday the 17th. Trivandrum, a predominantly pagan city was well impressed by the grandeur and religious splendour of the

procession with the body of the archbishop, through the city, to its final resting place in the new cathedral which His Grace began constructing last year. His Grace himself had made all detailed arrangements for the burial and everything was done according to his desire. Nearly all the Catholic prelates of Malabar were present at the funeral. The ministers of the state and officers of the Government as well as prominent citizens of the state also assisted at the ceremonies. The Holy Father graciously sent us a paternal message of condolence and apostolic blessings. The Rajapramukh also sent us a very touching letter in which he regretted the loss of a personal friend in the archbishop. The princes of the Church from Antioch, U.S.A., Australia, the prelates of Jacobite, Marthomite and Protestant Churches and political heads of various states conveyed to us their sentiments of deep sorrow and sympathy.

I take this opportunity to thank you most cordially for the great esteem and regard you have always had for the late archbishop, and for the deep interest you have taken in the work of Reunion which he started. I feel confident that your continued sympathy and benevolence will ever be with this orphaned, infant archdiocese.

With deep esteem and kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely in Christ,

✠ BENEDICT MAR GREGORIOS,

*Vicar Administrator
of the Archdiocese of Trivandrum.*

THE MALANKARA CHURCH

COLLEGIO DAMASCENO,

Passeggiata del Gianicolo 5,
Roma, 636.

10th September 1953.

DEAR FATHER,

By the demise of Mar Ivanios, the first chapter of the history of Malankara church is ended. Now we are waiting to see the person under whom the second will begin. Anyhow by the grace of God we are very optimistic. It is a well-known fact that from the very beginning of the Reunion Movement the non-Catholics, especially the Jacobites, have been watching its progress with much suspicion. They were under an illusion

that the permission granted to use the liturgy as it is, was only a personal concession granted to Mar Ivanios and consequently it must cease after his death. But now the consecration of Mar Gregorios, the funeral ceremony of Mar Ivanios, the fervour of the young clergy to keep the liturgy in its entirety, convince them that what they thought is wrong. This is very clear now when many more are coming to the Church. Mar Severios has written that almost every month he has to begin at least two or three new missions, this means many more are coming since it is our policy only to begin a new mission when we have enough people for a new congregation. Mar Gregorios also has written to me saying that he is getting every day petitions from non-Catholics to be reconciled. But for all these things our finance is a very great hindrance.

People	80,000	Papers	2
Priests	145	College	1
Religious priests	17	High Schools	14
Nuns	160	Middle Schools	18
Seminarists	83	Primary Schools	74
		Orphanages	2
		Hospital	1

And besides all these we hope the presence of His Eminence Cardinal Tisserant during his forthcoming visit, will draw many more to the Church.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN MELAMPARAMPIL.

Kenmure,
4 Corsehill Road,
Ayr.

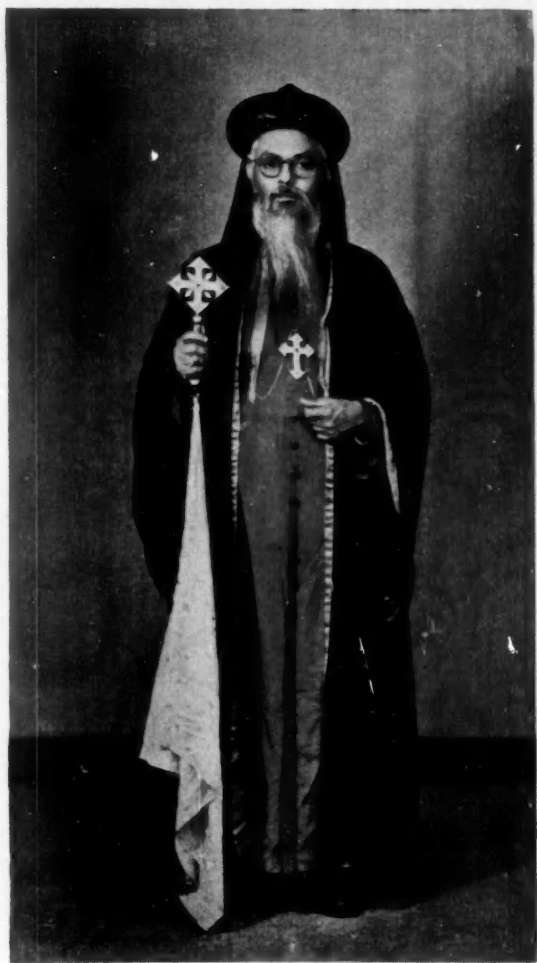
To the Editor of the *E.C.Q.*

DEAR SIR,

In Father Rodzianko's very enlightening article which showed so clearly the position of the Orthodox Church, it is just unfortunate he was allowed to make the slip, 'the Hungarian Regent, himself a Roman Catholic'; Admiral Horthy was and is a Calvinist.

Yours faithfully,

J. S. BELLINGHAM.



MAR SERVERIOS
bishop of Tiruvalla



BENEDICT MAR GREGORIOS, O.I.C.
bishop auxiliary to the archbishop of Trivandrum

NEWS AND COMMENTS

We are very pleased to be able to give the Prior of Ampleforth's impressions of the Unity Pilgrimage to Rome. His own words in *The Tablet* are apposite: 'Now that the Pilgrim Way has begun and proved fruitful, may many others tread the same path'.

We would, however, point out that a similar Christian Unity Pilgrimage to Rome had been organized in the May of 1952. The centre of this organization is in Rome itself—'Ireremia Valahul', 7 Piazza, S. Maria Maggiore.

These pilgrimages to Rome of prayer for Christian Unity are a welcome reinforcement of the Church Unity Octave and the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity.

* * *

We publish in this issue a letter received from the vicar administrator of the archdiocese of Trivandrum informing us of the death of the late archbishop, Mar Ivanios. We thank Mar Gregorios and send him our deep sympathy and prayers and promise him our help in any way we can.

It was in 1931 that the *E.C.Q.* first started as the Quarterly Eastern Churches number of *Pax*. In the second issue of which [April 1931] Mar Ivanios himself contributed an article: 'The Malabar Re-Union'. Ever since then we have watched this work with great interest. In fact we consider all that concerns the St Thomas Christians of importance in the present day work for Christian unity.



MAR IVANIOS

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

CATHOLIC

Unitas 1952-1953 (April-June).

This review maintains a high level of information in matters concerning Christian Unity both in its articles and documentation. This is what one would expect from a Roman publication. In the copies before us we would draw attention especially to the following articles : that of Fr N. Bock, s.j., on 'The Catholic Church and Russia'; 'The devotion of the Russian people to Our Lady' by Fr M. Gordillo, s.j.; 'The Efforts for Reunion in Malankara, South India', by Fr Placid, T.O.C.D. Of documentation: Fr M. Jugie, A.A., treats of the Greek Orthodox bishop Panteleimon's plea for the Reunion of the Orthodox with the Catholic Church. In this Fr Jugie says, 'What would be necessary? Put back the name of the pope in the Pharnar's diptychs and recognize the primacy and doctrinal infallibility as well, as the latter was acclaimed at Ephesus and Chalcedon'. The pastoral letter of the bishop of Mainz on the œcumenical movements. The letter of the Rumanian Orthodox Metropolitan Vissarion Puiu to the Patriarch Alexis urging him to support friendly relations with the Catholic Church. There is also his other letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople on the same subject. Among book reviews, that on Sergius Bulgakov by Fr A. Werger is important.

NON-CATHOLIC

The Œcumenical Review (1952-1953).

Here we can only offer a selection for comment :—

'On Tour through South-East Asia' by H. Kraemer. This is of interest mainly because of the writer's comments on Moslems and Buddhists.

The proposed new building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre put forward by Mgr G. Testa is well reviewed by Canon E. Every.

But the most important papers in the review are those which bear on the question of apostolic succession, a question that is becoming vital at the present moment in œcumenical circles, a question that they claim divides the churches into Catholic and Protestant and which involves two different conceptions of the nature of the Church. The papers in question are :—The Apostolic succession as an œcumenical issue, an Anglican view, by the Rev. Francis Gray and the same subject from the

Protestant view, by Professor Henri d'Espine. There is also Dean Wedel's article 'The Body—Spirit Paradox of the Church' which can be considered as an attempt on the part of an American Episcopalian to prepare the ground by showing the relevance of the problem of an historic ministry in the Church as a whole.

Of the two main articles that by the Protestant is very telling: 'The question is not whether there may be added to the Apostolic succession, as constituent elements of the Church, elements to which the Protestant churches rightly cling, but whether the Apostolic succession, as understood by the Catholic churches, is by the witness of the scriptures, an essential constituent element of the true Church of Christ, without which there would be no true Church at all. There is, in ecumenical discussion, a tendency to avoid putting the question as openly and definitely as this.'

He explains the Protestant conception of the ministry: 'Not a priesthood but a shepherdship, by means of which the Great Shepherd desires his flock to be fed. Christ raises up these human shepherds by calling men to the ministry, and it is this divine vocation, this immediate action upon them by the Glorified Lord, which makes them shepherds.' This is valuable, but his appeal to a biblical view of the nature of the Church in opposition to the sacramental system of Catholics is weak, e.g. 'baptism', he says, 'is a most valuable symbol, but a condition (of salvation) never'. In the July issue there is a symposium on the occasion of the 1500th anniversary of the Council of Chalcedon. This is very good to see. Three Orthodox, one Catholic and two Protestants all give their quota.

There is a six page 'in memoriam' for Abbé Couturier by Père M. Villain. Dr Oliver Tomkins gives an excellent review of Dr van de Pol's *The Christian Dilemma*.

Scottish Journal of Theology (Vol. V, 1952).

We are not going to attempt a full dress review of this excellent journal; space precludes the necessary detailed comment that the articles would demand. But we may, and if occasion occurs, will refer to many of them in future issues. Here we will but comment on one article and some book reviews.

The article is that by Dr Sherwin Bailey on 'The Ecumenical significance of Anglicanism'. This has been evoked by a

previous paper by Dr Mason in which he stated that 'the Anglican synthesis represents, in effect, a compromise—but one which, interpreted more largely and generously, might become for non-Roman Christendom the most potent instrument of œcumenical *rapprochement* which the world has to offer'.

Dr Bailey, quoting Maurice, contends that the English reformers, by the providence of God, based the polity of the Anglican Church upon the principle of uniformity of worship as a substitute for dogmatic uniformity. Thus the Book of Common Prayer is the true expression of the spirit of Anglicanism, even in spite of a superficial appearance of diversity in worship that is in evidence. The Prayer Book also forms an acknowledged standard of doctrine and teaching.

He also contends that Anglican theology is based on scripture, tradition, and reason. We might add that St Thomas claims the same for his!

The book reviews form a very valuable feature of the journal, and that from time to time Catholic books are reviewed shows the breadth of view of the editors. In the June issue Mgr Knox's *Enthusiasm* is reviewed, and in September Canon Masure's *Le Sacrifice du Corps Mystique* is considered in a most painstaking way. Here is some comment: 'The purpose of all acts of Christian devotion, doubtless, is union with Christ, but the eucharist unites us with Christ in his self-offering to the Father as Priest and Victim for all mankind. Its peculiar relevance to human need is that it uses a sensible sign to bring us . . . into the inmost mysteries of the Godhead. Some may well say . . . that frail man cannot come to God with any offering. Masure, I think, would respect this view; but his reply is that the chief spiritual effect of the sacrament is the effort of offering something which Christ will overwhelm with his own riches, and that the final proof of God's love is not even that he gave his Son but that his unbelievable condescension deigns to receive his Son's sacrifice from our hands.' He continues, 'Christ—God—mankind. Masure's canvas is vast, but there is another, who is hardly mentioned. It is not Masure, but the neglect of generations, that has failed to study the part of the Holy Spirit in the redemption of the world—yet it was through the spirit that Jesus offered himself, a sacrifice for sin, and it was Pentecost that showered the fruits of God's acceptance upon the Church. In other words the double movement of Christ's sacrifice, to God in immolation and from God in blessing, is a movement of the Holy Spirit; and

so too in its turn must be the Godward and manward movement of the Eucharist.' We wonder whether the Epiklesis is not the answer the writer seeks?

There is one more review we must consider, that of Dr Torrance on *The Fullness of Christ. The Church's Growth into Catholicity*. This is a report to the Archbishop of Canterbury of a group of Anglican Evangelicals in which they make an attempt to account for the contrasts of 'catholic' and 'protestant' theology in the churches of the West that have stemmed from the Reformation, and particularly within the perspective of the Church of England itself, 'where these contrasting tensions have long been evident, and where it is claimed, an experiment of unity in tension is being carried out'. The reviewer considers that '*The Fullness of Christ* speaks with the authority of a great proportion of the Church of England behind it and expresses the genuinely Anglican mind in its growth through many new insights since the Reformation and through tension to its present condition'.

One wonders at this judgement; certainly the Anglo-Catholics would not agree.

But Dr Torrance considers "The Anglican Experiment" has far greater significance and far greater possibilities within the Anglican Communion than it will ever have outside of it . . . Anglican comprehensiveness has always in Elizabethan days, as in *Catholicity* or in *The Fullness of Christ* involved a somewhat superficial understanding of the theological issues and differences. Only a failure to understand the profounder elements of Lutheran and Reformed theology could encourage in Anglicans the hope that their intra-Anglican and indeed insular experiment of unity in tension could be effective between the great Churches of the West and the Eastern Church or the Church of Rome. The theology of Calvin, for example, was far more catholic and more patristic, than anything in the history of the Church of England, and yet the differences between his theology and that of Rome go down to a deeper level than is generally understood in England.'

'Nevertheless', Dr Torrance says, 'I believe that the Church of England, as interpreted through a document like *The Fullness of Christ* has more to offer the œcumenical movement than ever before, while if her theology were deepened, she would have more to offer to our growth toward reunion than any other single church.'

The Pilot (1952).

This Anglican Papalist review is all out against the Anglicans having anything to do with the sort of reunion advocated above. In the autumn issue there is a very full criticism of the report entitled 'Relations between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland'. Not only are the proposals put forward dealt with, but the very high-handed line taken in the matter by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, in all but ignoring the Anglican-Scottish bishops, comes in for comment also. There is another paper of some importance: 'Episcopacy and Reunion' by the Rev. E. R. Amphlett-Micklewright. The author views with alarm, first the increase in the numbers of the *episcopi vagantes*, and then the way in which Anglican Orders are being scattered upon various non-episcopal dissenting sects, this may, he say, even endanger the validity of Anglican orders within the future reunion owing to the possibly defective intention of some groups involved in ordaining. To meet this situation the author suggests to the Anglican authorities that they adopt St Cyprian's idea of validity, i.e. that the idea of validity is inseparable from legitimacy where Holy Orders are concerned. According to this the bishop elect must be chosen by the clergy and laity over whom he is to rule but he is made bishop by the act of the other bishops consenting.

Most of the other articles are concerned with their principles of reunion.

If one can judge the present tendency of the Anglican Church from the above reviews the group round *The Pilot* is more important than either its opponents or its friends may think; perhaps they will help Anglicans to go deep down to the level of theological thinking that Dr Torrance speaks of!

If there ever is to be a reconciliation between Anglicans and Rome (or even with the Orthodox East) this group needs our greatest sympathy and encouragement, while they will need to develop on the broadest and most English lines, in keeping with their principles, in order to win a hearing from their fellow Anglicans.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Spiritual Authority in the Church of England—An Enquiry by Edward Charles Rich. Pp. 214 (Longmans) 21s.

There has never been a greater need than now for eirenic books, intelligent penetrating and learned, on the fundamental questions concerning which Christians disagree. Goodwill and the desire for unity have grown widely in many directions, but deeper knowledge of each other's true positions and sympathetic understanding of them, the indispensable starting point of any real progress towards unity, do not seem to have kept pace with them. It has been possible for instance for the recent reissue of such a book as Salmon's *Infallibility* to be still received with wide acclaim as a devastating demolition of the Catholic position. Another book of the same kind, drawing largely upon Salmon for its ammunition, has been lately hailed in the same way. A reviewer in *Theology*, a journal with commendably high standards of scholarship, is able to give as evidence of this book's plain speaking and regard for truth its statement that the dogma of the Assumption is based on a worthless third century legend; which is simply untrue, and to speak of Papal infallibility being trounced by weapons forged by Salmon (an unfortunate phrase); unaware apparently that, whatever may be the arguments against infallibility properly understood, Salmon's case was nullified from the start by the fact that he certainly did not understand it.

The appearance of Canon Rich's book on the most fundamental of the questions which divide Christendom is therefore very welcome, not only for its learning and lucidity and the depth at which it treats the complex issues involved in any discussion of religious authority, but also because of its truly eirenic temper. He writes as a convinced Anglican standing, I should say, by upbringing and environment, in the line of an Anglo-Catholicism of which Bishop Gore was progenitor and most famous exponent; a combination, somewhat uneasy at times, of critical learning with respectful homage to tradition. For this school it is axiomatic that the hierarchal unity of the Church can be and has been broken by schism. They are compelled, in consequence, to confine the essence of Catholic unity to a communal life of faith and sacramental grace, everywhere exhibiting similar recognizable characteristics, yet transcending the boundaries set by different external authorities and allegiances. They decry therefore the absolute necessity, for the due preservation and propagation of this

communal life, of visible organic and organizational unity, overstressed they would say by Rome, relegating it to secondary status; as being of the *bene esse* and not of the *esse* of the Churches nature.

The importance of Canon Rich's comprehensive enquiry lies in certain points that he makes with considerable cogency. He sees that the Church of England is a microcosm of all Christendom in that, historically, it has given a tolerant home to almost all the contradictory ideas of authority which, since the Great Schism and the Reformation, have set Christian against Christian in opposing camps. He holds that the Church of England must one day make up its mind on which side it will range itself in this most vital matter; Catholic, Protestant or liberal humanist, but that on its choice will depend whether it can play a large part in drawing Christendom towards the unity which is God's will for it.

Canon Rich is constant in his emphasis that the deposit of faith given to the Church by our Lord is no mere external imposition by authority, but the possession of the whole faithful, whose minds share in it and thereby constitute the mind of the Church. The mind of the Church by its prayer and worship, by its living experience of revealed truth, and by speculative theological thought concerning that experience, penetrates with ever deepening insight into the Faith, perceiving its implications more clearly and drawing them out more explicitly from age to age. But though the mind of the Church thus ever learning, *ecclesia discens*, is guided by the Holy Spirit indwelling it, it does not of itself attain truth infallibly; lack of balance, sheer error and sometimes superstition can creep into the minds of the faithful and become mixed with the truth. It is by authority of *ecclesia docens*, the divinely guaranteed magisterium with which our Lord has endowed his Church that truth is distinguished from error, and the mind of the Church is enlarged by truth more clearly seen, and error and false emphasis are finally rejected. Here lies the necessity for infallible authority.

Good work is done in this book by its trenchant criticism of the oddly persistent error, Salmon is specially guilty of it, which confuses infallibility with inspiration and equates its utterances with a revelation of new truth. This is one of the reasons why it is commonly so vigorously rejected by Anglicans and others. Another and more impelling reason would seem to be the latent fear of any final court of appeal in matters doctrinal. For a final court of appeal needs a voice that can be

heard with certainty, and a voice that can be heard with certainty implies a teaching hierarchy united with the unity of a single organism realizing that unity in one head.

Canon Rich acknowledges that he approached his enquiry with the common Anglo-Catholic assumption that there is no infallible endowment in the Christian religion and that truth apprehended by living experience is alone sufficient for the conviction of faith. In the course of writing, however, it became gradually clear to his mind that such an attitude was in fact a denial and rejection of the whole Christian claim to be the revelation of the Way, the Truth and the Life.

That is a tremendous discovery, and a reversal by a typical Anglican, typical in his learning, sincerity and sobriety of judgement, of the whole trend of latter day Anglo-Catholicism. May his book induce many to follow his lead.

HENRY ST JOHN, O.P.

China's New Creative Age by Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury. Edited by Lawrence and Wishart, London.

It would be difficult to expose a complete criticism of this book of Dr Hewlett Johnson. To a reader who does not personally know China it might give the impression of objectivity. On one who knows personally the big country rather quickly visited by the Dean of Canterbury, it leaves the impression of a continual exaggeration.

Those who lived in China under the communist régime find again in the book *China's New Creative Age* all the same stories which they read and re-read in communist newspapers. To them the book seems a simple translation of articles released by official propaganda.

However, as all communist propaganda, it is cleverly presented. It starts from some undeniable facts and then builds them up according to its special ends. It generalizes real abuses existing under the old régime, deliberately puts aside endeavours made to extirpate them before and only puts emphasis on present endeavours. Finally, it presents nice programmes as achievements, partial realizations as extraordinary successes and some already ancient enterprises as initiatives due only to the new spirit of communist revolution.

There is no question of trying to justify the system anciently used in China. Social structures were in many respects antiquated. However, deficiencies of an old system are not an apodictic proof of the goodness of the new one. For instance,

workers in Germany, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, had been also complaining about some defects in their old social system; recent events seem to indicate that they do not feel better under their present social system. The same applies to China: evils endured by the people in the old time do not prove that their actual state has been bettered.

The author rejoices, with reason, at the destruction of the feudal system. He cites some confessions obtained from bad landlords in public trials conducted—says he—with all the punctilious legalities and safeguards which he had noted in another story. People know what to think of such alleged confessions: they might be true; more often they are only the result of physical tortures or mental breakdown. As the Chinese people would say: Who believes that? but what can one do? one must bark with the dogs.

Probably, Dr Johnson who praises so much communist justice has not heard of its concept as was explained to us by some communist official: 'Communist justice is quite different of that used in capitalist countries. There a trial is held in order to prove someone's culpability; in communist justice, when a trial is held, the judges have already obtained the proofs of culpability; they only ask for the "culprit" that he acknowledge his culpability so as to merit the government's clemency.' Thus, all the accused are undoubtedly 'culprits'.

Writing about cases of local tyranny, the author would make believe that they existed only before and that there is nothing of that kind now. He who lived for some time in the country, under the communists, knows very well that ordinary people are still more afraid of the local officials than they were before. It is more dangerous to offend now some official because charges that can be brought against one are more numerous than before.

The whole book is filled with half-truths or pre-arranged facts. It depicts only a very partial aspect of progress, the material one, and does not say anything about the exaggerated price that people had to pay for it or the moral setbacks it involves.

Before ending this review of Dr Hewlett Johnson's book, let us have a look on his chapter 'Landmarks of the Christian Church in China'. He accepts as quite natural the fact that the Church be reformed by people who openly declare themselves adversaries of all religion. Because freedom of religion is written in the Constitution, he takes it for granted that everywhere—as, in fact, in some centres—the practice of

religion is free. He does not know that in some places the very walls on which is painted the slogan 'Freedom of religion' are used as a jail for the ministers of religion. Perhaps, he has not heard of ministers hindered from receiving or visiting their flock, of Christians subjected to all kinds of intimidation in order to frighten them away from religious practice, of churches used for every purpose except that of worship, of continuous attacks on religion and its ministers without any possibility of answering the attack. Maybe Dr Johnson cannot believe what Chinese Catholics wrote to Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, sister of Indian Premier Nehru, about 'the terrible religious persecution that rages in China . . . (where) one cannot hope to live without adopting the materialistic and atheistic principles of the party'. He can only believe what he got from official statements or from people talking with the knowledge that their words would be made public.

The Dean of Canterbury's book has no other value than that of a propaganda-pamphlet. To seek in it something more would be quite useless.

J. H. DUNNE.

Vie, survie et prodiges de l'ermite Charbel Makhlouf par. P. Daher. Pp. 142 (Editions Spes, Paris) frs 270.

The life of a monk and hermit in the mountains of the Lebanon is not expected to be eventful or even well-documented, and the accounts that have been published of Father Sharbel Makhoul have not been able to tell us much about him. There is only one source for the life of Father Sharbel (who wrote nothing himself), and that is the testimony, written or oral, of those who knew him. This is being gradually collected by Father Shibli. The latest book is less padded-out with moralizing and exclamatory matter than some we have seen (though there is still too much of it), and it contains some interesting information that seems to be new: interesting not so much for its own sake but because it helps to build up a picture, faint but impressive, of this Maronite hermit who died only in 1898. The canonical inquiry with a view to his beatification was begun by the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch in 1926; in the meantime well-attested cases of healing take place at Father Sharbel's tomb at the monastery of Annaya (where his body is incorrupt), and crowds of Christians of all rites, Catholic and dissident, as well as some Druzes and other non-Christians, flock thither.

P. Daher remarks pleasantly of the school for young Antonian monks at Kifan that 'it aimed at forming not scholars but men'. But those readers who are alarmed or puzzled by such expressions as 'Vive sa messe!' must read warily. Apart from proper names and the like, the book as it stands might have been written by a Frenchman about Frenchmen for Frenchmen—the operative words here are 'about Frenchmen'.

X.Y.Z.

Ukrainian Catholics. Pp. 174. *A Great Martyr for Union*. Pp. 155.

By M. Schudlo, C.S.S.R. ('The Redeemer's Voice', Yorktown, Sask.). n.p.

The first of these booklets is in English, and the second has a double text, English and Ukrainian. *Ukrainian Catholics* gives brief accounts of Ukrainian ecclesiastical history, of the Byzantine liturgical rite, of the Catholic Ukrainian church to-day, its 'set-up', canon law and problems, especially as they affect Ukrainians in North America, and of the dissident Orthodox position. The great martyr is, of course, St Josaphat Kuntsevych, whose life, death and canonization are set forth in the second booklet. Both should prove very useful to Ukrainian and other Catholics in Canada and U.S.A. But their usefulness is perhaps reduced by a certain lack of clearness and precision in presentation. For example, the use of the word 'rite' to designate both a liturgy and a church can cause misunderstanding; and to give more space to a law that is superseded than to its present provisions (pp. 118-20) is to invite confusion for simple readers. Father Schudlo does well to warn his people against displaying 'any kind of exaggerated nationalism in treating their neighbours', and that is not the only very practical instruction that he gives.

X.Y.Z.

A Manual of Prayers and Services for the Use of Romanian-American Catholics of Byzantine Rite. Pp. 693 (Romanian Catholic Publishing Company of America) \$2.

It is interesting that the best Catholic Byzantine prayer-book in English, published in the United States, should have been produced by one of the smaller Catholic Byzantine groups in that country. It is full and practical, well printed and produced, and is in English and Romanian throughout, on opposite pages. Its English, though by no means beyond serious criticism,

is on the whole very much better than the stilted, even outrageous, language that usually disfigures these books. The liturgical element is by far the biggest and includes the Mass, with many proper *troparia* and *kontakia*, the rites of marriage, last anointing and burial, the *paraklisis* of the All-holy Mother of God, and the lesser blessing of water; and there is a good selection of prayers for various persons and occasions.

Apart from some use of unnecessarily Western terminology, this book is almost free from that split-mindedness that characterizes most Catholics of Eastern rite in America. Almost, but not quite. The Way of the Cross seems to be taken straight from the Baltimore Manual of Prayers (except for the V and R: 'We adore thy cross, O Christ—And we praise and glorify thy holy resurrection'). But the worst example is the short section of meditations. Here, *inter alia*, we read an apocryphal story about St Francis Borgia: 'Francis alone, led by divine grace, hesitated long enough to contemplate the vanity of the world as exemplified by the cadaver (!) and remarked, "... O Mistress Isabella . . . is this how the powers and crowns of this world are dissipated?"' etc. This would be bad in a Western context; but in the context of the prayer of quite another *ethos* it is simply grotesque. X.Y.Z.

The Land of the Great Image by Maurice Collis. Pp. 317 (Faber and Faber) 15s.

Mr Maurice Collis publishes in this book the account of the travels of a Portuguese Augustinian friar, together with his own comments and observations. Sebastian Maurique was the name of the friar, he was born at Oporto, Portugal, between 1590 and 1600.

When quite young Sebastian Maurique went out to Goa, the capital of Portuguese Asia. He seems to have made his novitiate there. After spending some years in Goa, he was sent to Bengal. Bengal is adjacent to Arakan which was, then, an independent kingdom, but now part of what is Burma to-day.

Friar Sebastian travelled to many other regions, but the book concerns itself with his impressions at the court of Arakan. Arakan possessed then a colossal statue of Buddha, hence the title *The Land of the Great Image*. From the friar's account we get an idea of the life the Portuguese colonials lived in those days in Goa; the evils of the Inquisition, the slave trade, their greed for wealth and their loose moral lives—

all this is vividly portrayed. We notice the fanatic missionary in Maurique, who sees nothing good outside his own religion and condones even flagrant violations of elementary Christian principles committed by his compatriots—all in the name of Christianity and the salvation of souls.

Friar Maurique's impressions of the East in general and of the country of Arakan in particular, display much the same prejudices and often inaccurate appreciation of ways of living and customs alien to one's own, as we sometimes find in the writings of European travellers. Mr Collis here presents to the public an account, perhaps little known. The personal observations and comments of the author on the Catholic Church, its beliefs and teaching, betray much ignorance and certain definite prejudice. The book does not contribute very much to history as we understand it to-day, nor to erudition. The book may perhaps provide some entertainment.

D.B.A.

The Incarnation by St Athanasius. Pp. 120 (Mowbray) 7s. 6d.

This is a revised edition. The first edition came out in 1944. There is an appendix to this edition—*St Athanasius on the Psalms*—this had appeared as a separate book in 1949. The binding of these two in one is an advantage. The English translation is the work of a Religious of C.S.M.V. The previous editions have been reviewed in these pages.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Geoffrey Bles : *Truth and Revelation*, N. Berdyaev.

Editions 'Vita et Pax' (Antwerp) : *La Divine Liturgie*—S. Jean Chrysostome.

Scottish League for European Freedom : *Russian World Ambitions and World Peace*, R. Ilnytzky.

S.P.C.K. : *Enchiridion*, Saint Augustine ; *The Prayer*, Tertullian, both edited by E. Evans.

S.C.M. : *The Evolution of the Christian Year*, A. A. McArthur.

REVIEWS

Syndesmos: Paris.

Dans l'esprit et la Vérité: Paris.

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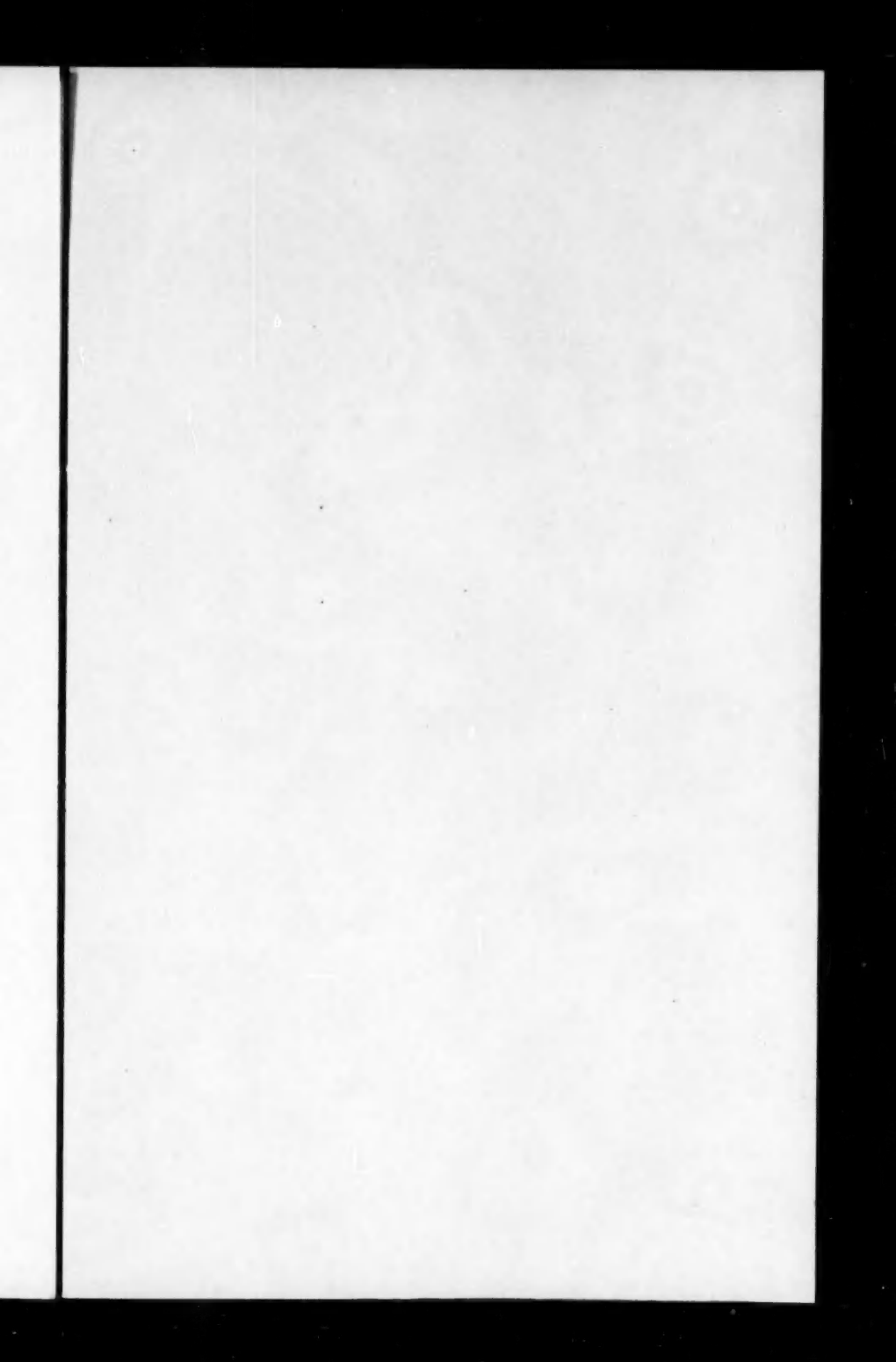
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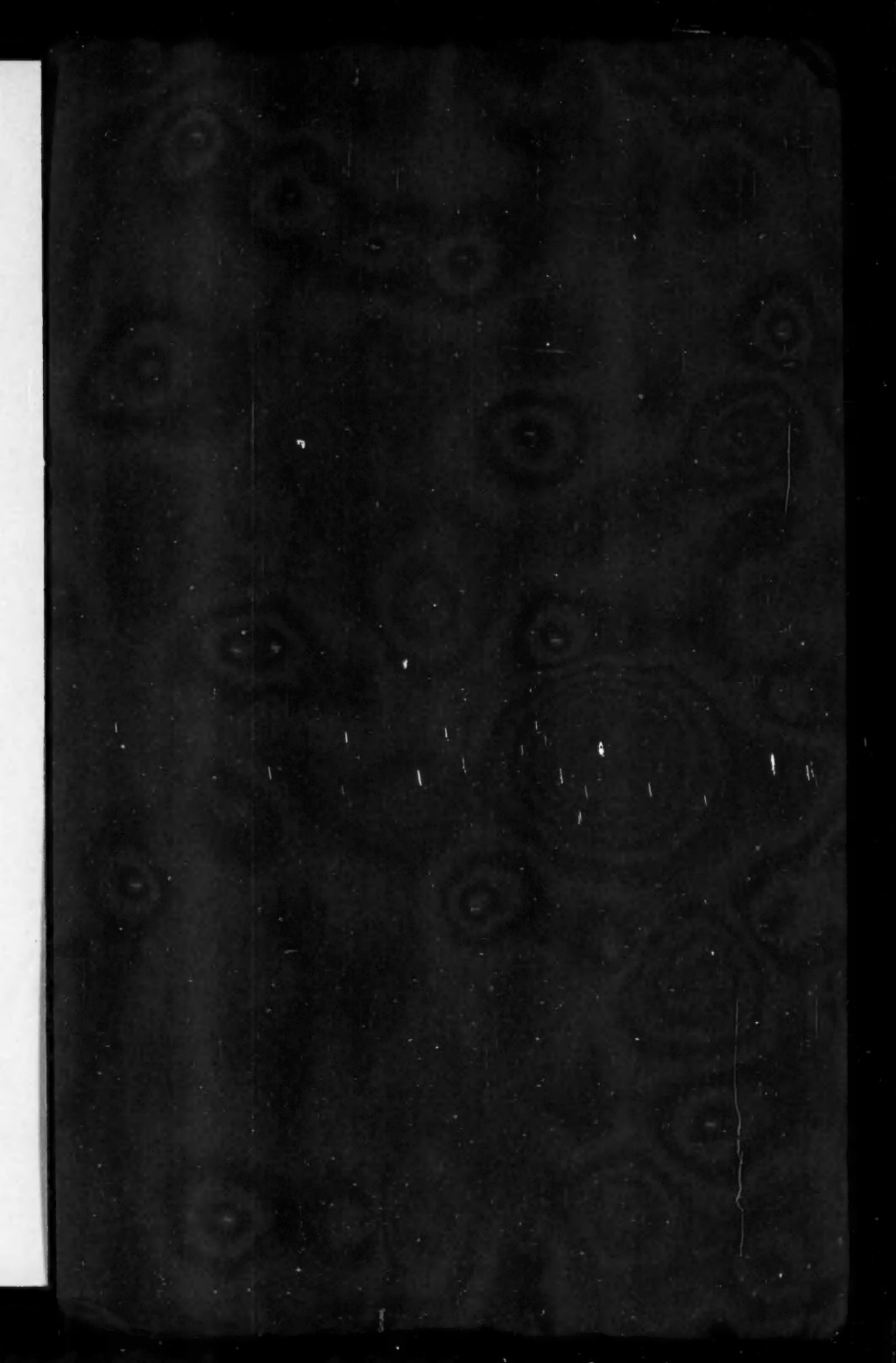
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